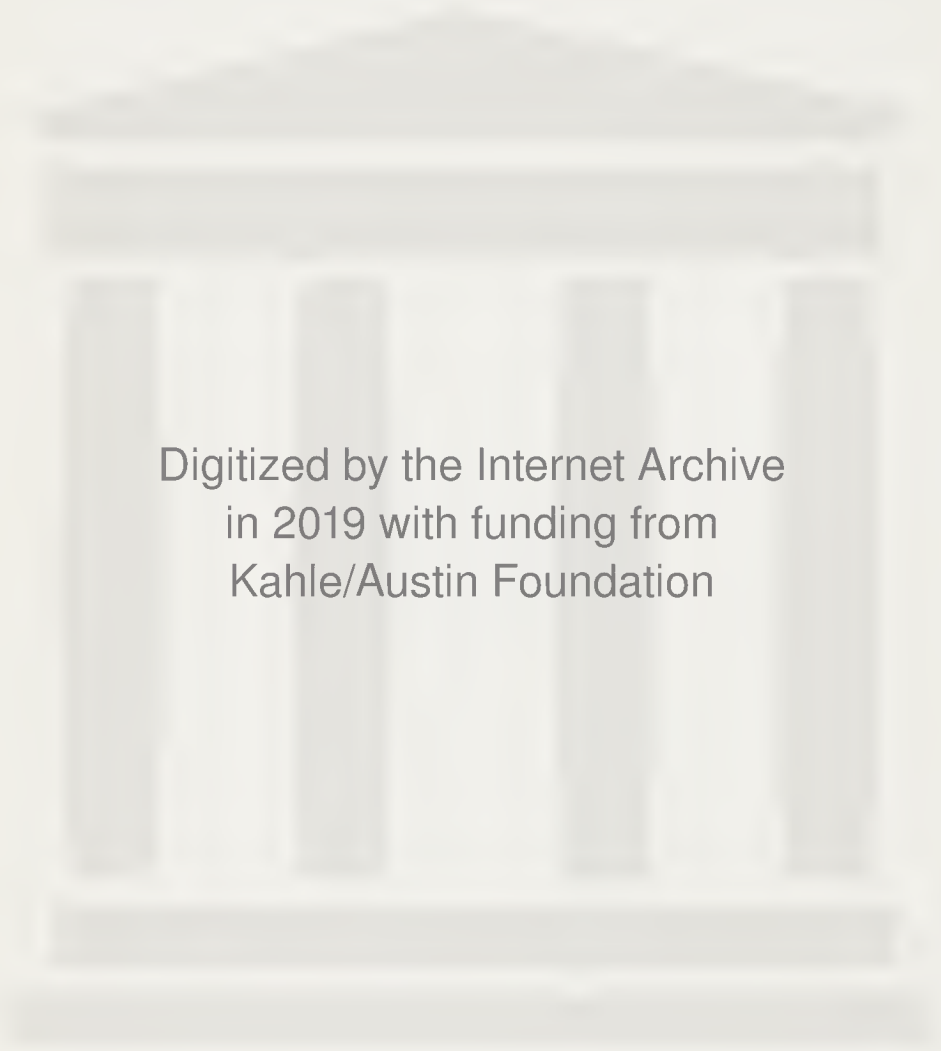
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THE LITERARY NOTES OF THOMAS HARDY

Volume I
Notes

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS GOTHOBURGENSIS

GOTHENBURG STUDIES IN ENGLISH 29

THE LITERARY NOTES OF THOMAS HARDY

EDITED
BY
LENNART A. BJÖRK

VOLUME I

NOTES

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To Maj, Christina and Staffan

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ABBREVIATIONS

Anderson	J. Ford, *The Broken Heart*, ed. Donald K. Anderson, Jr. Regents Renaissance Drama Series (London, 1868).
Apologia	John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua: Being a Reply to a Pamphlet Entitled* 'What, Then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?' (London, 1864).
Archiv	*Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*
Ashley Library	*The Ashley Library: A Catalogue of Printed Books, Manuscripts and Autograph Letters*, collected by Thomas J. Wise, 11 vols. (London, 1922–36; rpt. 1971).
AUMLA	*Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association*
Bailey	J. O. Bailey, *The Poetry of Thomas Hardy: A Handbook and Commentary* (Chapel Hill, 1970).
Blackwood's	*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*
Blunden	Edmund Blunden, *Thomas Hardy* (London, 1942; rpt. 1967).
Brooks	Jean Brooks, *Thomas Hardy: The Poetic Structure* (London, 1971).
"Burleigh"	T.B. Macaulay, "Burleigh," *Critical and Historical Essays* (London, 1854), I, 220–35.
Carlyle, *Works*	Thomas Carlyle, *Collected Works*, Library Edition, 33 vols. (London, 1869–71).

Clarendon	Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England in the Year 1641*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1702–04).
"Clive"	T. B. Macaulay, "Clive," *Critical and Historical Essays* (London, 1854), II, 83–127.
Cont. Rev.	The *Contemporary Review*
Cornhill	The *Cornhill Magazine*
Courtney	W. L. Courtney, "Mr. T. H. and Aeschylus," *Old Saws and Modern Instances* (New York, 1918), pp. 1–30.
DCM	Dorset County Museum
DeLaura	David J. DeLaura, " 'The Ache of Modernism' in Hardy's Later Novels" *ELH*, 34 (Sept. 1967), 380–99.
"Democracy"	Matthew Arnold, "Democracy," *Mixed Essays* (London, 1879).
D. News	The *Daily News*
EA	*Études Anglaises*
EB	*Encyclopaedia Britannica*
Duppa	R. Duppa, "Life of Michael Angelo Buonarotti," in *Lives of the Italian Painters:* Michael Angelo by R. Duppa, Raffaello by Q. De Quincy, trans. W. Hazlitt (London, 1846).
Ed. Rev.	The *Edinburgh Review*
E. Hardy	Emma Lavinia Hardy
ELH	*Journal of English Literary History*
ELT	*English Literature in Transition*

"Equality"	Matthew Arnold, "Equality," *Mixed Essays* (London, 1879).
ES	*English Studies*
Evelyn Hardy	Evelyn Hardy, *Thomas Hardy: A Critical Biography* (London, 1954; reissued New York, 1970).
Fort. Rev.	The *Fortnightly Review*
"Frederic the Great"	T. B. Macaulay, "Frederic the Great," *Critical and Historical Essays* (London, 1879), II, 244–86.
"A French Critic on Milton"	Matthew Arnold, "A French Critic on Milton," *Mixed Essays* (London, 1879).
"The Function of Criticism at the Present Time"	Matthew Arnold, "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time," *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (London, 1865); from entry 1159 onwards the 3rd ed. (1875) is used: see entries 1015n and 1159n.
"George Sand"	Matthew Arnold, "George Sand," *Mixed Essays* (London, 1879).
Greville, *Memoirs*	Charles C. F. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs, A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV and King William IV,* ed. Henry Reeve 4th ed. (London, 1875).
Grieve	T. B. Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays,* ed. A. J. Grieve, 2 vols. (Everyman's Library, 1907; rpt. 1966).
Grolier Club *Catalogue*	Carroll A. Wilson, comp., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Grolier Club Centenary Exhibition 1940 of the Works of Thomas Hardy O. M. 1840–1928* (Waterville, Maine, 1940).
"Hallam's History"	T. B. Macaulay, "Hallam's History," *Critical and Historical Essays* (London, 1854), I, 51–98.

"Hampden"	T. B. Macaulay, "John Hampden," *Critical and Historical Essays* (London, 1854), I, 190–220.
"Hastings"	T. B. Macaulay, "Warren Hastings," *Critical and Historical Essays* (London, 1854), II, 181–244.
"Heine"	Matthew Arnold, "Heine," *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (London, 1865); from entry 1159 onwards the 3rd ed. (1875) is used: see entries 1015n and 1159n.
Hodgson	Sale Catalogue of Messrs Hodgson and Co., Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2 (May 26, 1938).
Howe	Irving Howe, *Thomas Hardy* (New York, 1966; London, 1968).
Hutchins	John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 3rd ed. (London, 1861).
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
"Joubert"	Matthew Arnold, "Joubert," *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (London, 1865); from entry 1159 onwards the 3rd ed. (1875) is used: see entries 1015n and 1159n.
Life	Florence Emily Hardy, *The Life of Thomas Hardy 1840–1928* (London, 1962; rpt. 1965; originally pub. in 2 vols: *The Early Life* of Thomas Hardy [1928], *The Later Life* of Thomas Hardy [1930]).
"The Literary Influence of Academies"	Matthew Arnold, "The Literary Influence of Academies," *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (London, 1865); from entry 1159 onwards the 3rd ed. (1875) is used: see entries 1015n and 1159n.
Macray	E. Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion* . . . ed. W. D. Macray, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1888).

"Maurice de Guérin"	Matthew Arnold, "Maurice de Guérin," *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (London, 1865); from entry 1159 onwards the 3rd ed. (1875) is used: see entries 1015n and 1159n.
MFS	*Modern Fiction Studies*
Miller	J. Hillis Miller, *Thomas Hardy: Distance and Desire* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1970).
Millgate	Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: His Career as a Novelist* (London, 1971).
Morley, *Works*	John Morley, *The Works of Lord Morley*, Edition de Luxe, 15 vols. (London, 1921).
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
MLQ	*Modern Language Quarterly*
MP	*Modern Philology*
N&Q	*Notes and Queries*
NCF	*Nineteenth-Century Fiction*
OCD	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*
One Rare Fair Woman	*One Rare Fair Woman: Thomas Hardy's Letters to Florence Henniker 1893–1922*, ed. Evelyn Hardy and F. B. Pinion (London, 1972).
Orel	*Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings*, ed. Harold Orel (Kansas, 1966; London, 1967).
"Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment"	Matthew Arnold, "Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment," *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (London, 1865); from entry 1159 onwards the 3rd ed. (1875) is used: see entries 1015n and 1159n.
Parton	James Parton, *Life of Voltaire*, 2 vols. (London, 1881).

Pinion	F. B. Pinion, *A Hardy Companion* (London, 1968).
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
Purdy	Richard Little Purdy, *Thomas Hardy: A Bibliographical Study* (London, 1954; rpt. 1968).
REL	*Review of English Literature* (Leeds)
RES	*The Review of English Studies*
Rutland	W. R. Rutland, *Thomas Hardy: A Study of His Writings and Their Background* (Oxford, 1938).
Sat. Rev.	The *Saturday Review*
Southerington	Frank R. Southerington, *Hardy's Vision of Man* (London, 1971).
SP	*Studies in Philology*
Springer	Marlene Ann Springer, "Allusion in Thomas Hardy's Early Novels: A Stylistic Study," Diss. Indiana Univ. 1969.
Stewart	J. I. M. Stewart, *Thomas Hardy: A Critical Biography* (London, 1971).
Strachey, Fulford	*The Greville Memoirs 1814–1860*, ed. by Lytton Strachey and Roger Fulford, 7 vols. (London, 1937).
Super	*The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R. H. Super, vols. I– (Ann Arbor, 1960–).
Svaglic	John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, ed. Martin J. Svaglic (Oxford, 1967).
Tanner	H. James, *Hawthorne*, with Introduction and Notes by Tony Tanner (London, 1967).

" 'Visible Essences' as Thematic Structure in Hardy's *The Return of the Native*	Lennart A. Björk, " 'Visible Essences' as Thematic Structure in Hardy's *The Return of the Native*, *ES*, 53 (Feb. 1972), 52–63.
VN	*Victorian Newsletter*
VS	*Victorian Studies*
Weber	Carl J. Weber, *Hardy of Wessex: His Life and Literary Career* (1940; rev. ed. New York, 1965).
Webster	Harvey Curtis Webster, *On A Darkling Plain* (Chicago, 1947).
Webster's	*Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary*
West. Rev.	The *Westminster Review*
Wreden	Sale Catalogue of William P. Wreden, Burlingame, California, 1938.
Wright	Walter F. Wright, *The Shaping of the Dynasts: A Study in Thomas Hardy* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1967).

NOTES ON

THE LITERARY NOTES

Entries 1–1339

1 Hardy's charts and diagrams of human nature are drawn on both pages of an inserted leaf pasted onto the verso of the front end paper of the notebook (see "Textual Introduction," p. xxx). In order to facilitate the reading of the photographic reproduction of the verso of the inserted leaf a transcription/description of the material is given here. (Another description is found in Wright, pp. 28–29; Wright's account is, however, less complete and not quite accurate as will be indicated below).

The heading reads "Diagrams showing Human Passion, Mind, & Character — Designed by Thos Hardy. 1863." Below are four figures, in pencil, one graph and three tree designs, illustrating mainly the charts on the recto. The graph, top left, divides life into four major phases. The figure shows a base line with the annotations "Life begins, Age 19, 26, 40, Life ends." From the left end is drawn a "Line of Energy," curving upwards until it culminates at 19; from 19 to 40 the line describes a number of sharp rises and falls, with a peak at 26 at the same level as that at 19; after 40 the line declines steadily towards "Life ends."

The first tree design, bottom left, shows the trunk of a tree growing out of a base called "Humanity"; the trunk is labelled "Passions"; two roots, or vines, grow up from the base on either side of the trunk and wind around it. The left vine is called "Intellect," the right "Will," and both are subdivided as in the charts of the recto. A circular shape projects to the right of the trunk.

The second tree design, top right, has no base indicated. There is, however, a horizontal line dividing the trunk into two sections. The lower section may indicate the roots, as the trunk is here split vertically into three parts, named from left to right, "Intellect"; "Passions"; and "Will." "Intellect" and "Will" are subdivided but without notations. The three parts unite shortly below the horizontal line, at the level of which "Amalgam.^{n}" is written. Just above there is the notation "Moral Harmony," before the tree again splits into three main branches, of which only the middle one is annotated. It is labelled "Affective dominant" before it subdivides into four minor branches called, from left to right, "Friendship domin.^{t}"; "Love Dominant"; "Familism dom.^{t}"; "Ambition dominant." The "Familism dom.^{t}" branch is adorned with several flower (or leaf ?) patterns. On the trunk of the tree there are certain offshoots. Below the horizontal line, there is in the "Passions" section an irregular conglomerate of circles annotated "Impossible Monster of the Passions"; projecting from both sides of the trunk there are also two small concavo-convex shapes called, on the left side, "Imp.^{s} M. of Intellect," and, on the right side, "Impossible Monster of the Will." (Wright, p. 28, misreads "Intellect" as "Instinct.") Above the horizontal line, in the "Moral Harmony" section of the trunk, there are two small and irregular and two large and regular conglomerates of circles. Projecting about an inch to the left of the trunk and from the word "Amalgam.^{n}" there are three regular conglomerates without annotations.

Bottom right of the page is a cross section of the second tree design. It shows

"Will" at the centre, divided into two parts. The middle circle of the cross section is labelled "Intellect" and subdivided into three parts; a dotted line projects from each part to an "R," "D," and "S" respectively, supposedly abbreviations for Retentiveness, Discrimination, and Similarity — the same subdivision of Intellect as before. The outer and largest section of the tree is called "Passions." To the left is a notation referring to the cross section: "Intellect — the adviser of P. & W." (Wright, p. 29, misinterprets this figure, stating that "the cross section shows Passions to be at the center." As a consequence he maintains that "the small note . . . fits none" of the sketches. But, since "Will" is at the centre and separated from "Passions" by the "Intellect" circle, the small notation is in fact directly pertinent to the cross section and the second tree design.)

Dated 1863, this entry is among Hardy's earliest extant notes of any kind. It is, of course, impossible to determine precisely why he preserved these charts and diagrams and included them in the "Literary Notes" begun some thirteen years later. They may have been saved for sentimental reasons only. On the other hand they may well be of greater significance as they reveal a hitherto virtually ignored influence on Hardy from the French Utopian Socialist Francois Marie Charles Fourier (1772—1837), on whose views on human nature the charts are based as acknowledged in Hardy's own annotation "See Fourier" on the recto of the inserted leaf. See also, however, entry 1076.

Whereas the general source is clearly indicated, the specific printed source is somewhat less certain. Hardy studied French in 1865, but with little zest and progress, to complement his earlier studies in Dorchester (*Life*, pp. 25, 65). It does not seem likely, therefore, that he would have accepted the challenge of the French of Fourier in 1863. There were a number of English expositions of Fourierism but, as far as I know, only one translation of Fourier available in 1863: *The Passions of the Human Soul,* 2 vols. (London, 1851), trans. John Reynell Morell, with critical annotations, a biography of Fourier and a general introduction by Hugh Doherty (for a list of English expositions and some modern Fourier studies see end of this note). We know that Hardy read in Morell's translation, but at what date is uncertain. On the very last page of the "Trumpet-Major Notebook" from 1879 there is the reference "Fourier's Passions of the Human Soul. transl.[d] by John R. Morell"; several pages earlier Hardy quotes from Doherty's introduction, from a section titled "Fourier's Analysis of Human Nature" (p. xxxvii): "Fourier begins by establishing 3 abstract principles in universal nature from which he derives all things natural & spiritual —

1.[st] The passive principle or matter — Nature
2.[nd] The Active principle or Spirit — God
3.[rd] The neutral principle or mathematics — Justice

In human nature he finds the passive principle represented by the 5 senses — the

active prin by the 4 affections, the neuter prin by the 3 distributive passions of the Soul." In all essentials Hardy follows the text of the original. For a description of the "Trumpet-Major Notebook" see Emma Clifford, " 'The Trumpet-Major Notebook' and *The Dynasts*," *RES*, XIII (May, 1957), 149–61. The material is now being edited with commentary and notes by G. Stevens Cox for publication in *The Thomas Hardy Year Book*.

The Fourier entries in the "Trumpet-Major Notebook" contain the same ideas that are found in the pencilled annotations in the bottom chart on the recto of the inserted leaf. It is, however, difficult to date the Fourier material in the "Trumpet-Major Notebook"; the notebook is home-made and some very old paper seems to have been used, especially in the third gathering where the Fourier notes are. It is, nevertheless, not very likely that the Fourier notes date back as far as 1863, the year of the first entry of the "Literary Notes." But – whether Hardy went back to Fourier at any time between 1863 and 1879, or whether he saved two separate pieces of notetaking from the earlier date – the notes prove that he was familiar with Fourier's *The Passions of the Human Soul*. Since, furthermore, all essentials of the 1863 notes are to be found in Morell's translation, but not in the English expositions, all available evidence points to *The Passions of the Human Soul* as the primary source for the "Literary Notes" entry.

For a detailed discussion of the possible importance of the Fourier material to Hardy studies see my forthcoming *Psychological Vision and Social Criticism in the Novels of Thomas Hardy*.

English expositions of Charles Fourier available in 1863 include: J. I. de Abreu Lima, *The Biography of Charles Fourier* (London, 1841); A. Brisbane, *Association, or A Concise Exposition of the Practical Part of Fourier's Social Science* (London, 1842); Hugh Doherty, *False Association and Its Remedy, or A Critical Introduction to the Late Charles Fourier's Theory of Attractive Industry and Moral Harmony of the Passions* (London, 1841); William Lucas Sargant, *Social Innovators and Their Schemes* (London, 1858); A. Transon, *Fourier's Theory of Attractive Industry and Moral Harmony of the Passions,* trans. from the French (London, 1841); Alexander Bain has a short mention of Fourier in his *On the Study of Character* (London, 1861), pp. 9–10.

Some recent studies of Fourier: Donald Drew Egbert, *Social Radicalism and the Arts: Western Europe* (New York, 1970), esp. pp. 133–43; Frank E. Manuel, *The Prophets of Paris* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); Nicolai Ryazanovskii, *The Teaching of Charles Fourier* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969); David Zeldin, *The Educational Ideas of Charles Fourier* (London, 1969).

2 John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua: Being a Reply to a Pamphlet Entitled 'What, Then, Does Dr. Newman Mean?'* (London, 1964), p. 39; Svaglic, p. 402. Annotation and quotation. All page references to the *Apologia* (entries

2–29) tally with the first edition. The entries are written on both rectos and versos of four leaves of small notebook paper tipped onto the verso of the second fly-leaf. The pages of the four leaves are numbered 518 to 525. Approximately one fourth of the last leaf is cut off (see also "Textual Introduction," (p. xxx).

Hardy quotes from a passage which is typical of Newman's cutting analysis of Charles Kingsley's argumentation and charge that Newman's sermon "Wisdom and Innocence" is Catholic' "He [Kingsley] believes then so firmly that the Sermon was a 'Romish Sermon,' that he pointedly takes it for granted, before he has adduced a syllable of proof of the matter of fact. He *starts* by saying that it is a fact to be 'remembered.' 'It *must* be *remembered always*,' he says, 'that it is not a Protestant, but a Romish Sermon,' . . . . Its Romish parentage . . ." (p. 39; Svaglic, p. 402). (For a succinct and clarifying account of the Kingsley-Newman controversy see Svaglic's Introduction.) There is no recorded comment by Hardy on this famous dispute, nor on his attitude towards Kingsley. Hardy was, of course, generally sceptical of the English Church and her clergy; it seems likely, however, that he should have sympathized with Kingsley's social concerns, and he read, or re-read, *Alton Locke* in 1877 (see entry 1070).

Hardy's relationship to Newman is more fully documented. In the Hardy Memorial Collection of the DCM there are three books by Newman: an 1879 edition of the *Apologia; An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent* (3rd ed., 1879; the copy is described and interestingly discussed in Wright, p. 21); and *Verses on Various Occasions* (London, n. d.); the first two books only are autographed by Hardy.

A notebook entry in the *Life* both confirms the dating of Hardy's first reading of the *Apologia* as given in the "Literary Notes" and records his first impressions of it:

> 'July 2 (1865). Worked at J. H. Newman's *Apologia*, which we have all been talking about lately. A great desire to be convinced by him, because Moule likes him so much. Style charming, and his logic really human, being based not on syllogisms but on converging probabilities. Only – and here comes the fatal catastrophe – there is no first link to his excellent chain of reasoning, and down you come headlong . . .' (*Life*, p. 48).

In the typescript of the *Life* there is a condescending continuation, which Hardy apparently had second thoughts about and later deleted: "Poor Newman. His gentle childish faith in revelation and tradition must have made him a very charming character" (p. 59; the second sentence is in Hardy's handwriting). The first reading of the *Apologia*, then, leaves Hardy with a mixed impression of aesthetic approval and ideological rejection; he admires Newman's "style" ("style" possibly used in the same broad sense as in "The Profitable Reading of Fiction," Orel, pp. 122–23) but he refuses to accept Newman's concept of God

as a valid "first link." This mingled attitude to Newman seems to have remained with Hardy through the years. Sometimes the ideological aspect is more pronounced, as in a note from 1891: " 'Newman and Carlyle. The former's was a feminine nature, which first decides and then finds reasons for having decided. He was an enthusiast with the absurd reputation of a logician and reasoner. . . . Neither was truly a *thinker*' " (*Life*, p. 233). Some thirteen years later he expresses the same scepticism towards Newman's logic in a private conversation: "Hardy talked rather interestingly of Newman. . . . He said very firmly that N. was no logician; that the *Apologia* was simply a poet's work, with a kind of lattice-work of logic in places to screen the poetry" (*The Diary of Arthur Christopher Benson*, ed. Percy Lubbock, London, n.d., quoted in Millgate, p. 355 and, partly, in Blunden, p. 110). On other occasions the aesthetic considerations are more prominent; in 1875 Hardy reads " 'again Addison, Macauley, Newman . . . in a study of style" (*Life*, p. 105). Some two decades later he lists Newman's "Lead, kindly Light" as one of the hymns that "have always been familiar and favourite hymns of mine as poetry" (*Life*, p. 275). See also *One Rare Fair Woman*, p. 57.

Hardy makes artistic use of Newman's famous hymn in *Far from the Madding Crowd*. As Bathsheba watches the graves of Troy, Fanny Robin, and their illegitimate child, she hears children singing "Lead, kindly Light," sung "without thought or comprehension" (p. 448), and she suddenly envies the children: "She would have given anything in the world to be, as those children were, unconcerned at the meaning of their words, because too innocent to feel the necessity for any such expression" (p. 449). Hardy's attitude to the hymn here is possibly somewhat ambiguous. The allusion might be seen as simply ironical, as the trustful religious abandonment of "Lead, kindly Light" seems bitterly ludicrous in the scene with Bathsheba and the graves. It is more likely, however, that the situation reflects a gentler view of the hymn. Bathsheba's reaction of nostalgia may suggest that the allusion is intended to evoke more generally the plight of the human situation, the mature experience of which occasionally seeks relief in such religious form. In either case the allusion seems artistically appropriate in its accentuation of Bathsheba's hard-earned perspective on herself and the human situation. The other quotations from the hymn, intended to comment on the immediate conversation and on the past relationship between Bathsheba and Gabriel Oak, seem less fortunately used, since the meaning and emotional overtones of their original contexts have but superficial relevance to the scene in the novel (p. 449).

Other implicit allusions to Newman in Hardy's fiction may possibly be detected in the reference to the "Tractarian" beliefs in *Tess* (p. 221), in the discussion of "Apostolic Succession" in *A Laodicean* (p. 110; see entries 14n and 16n), and in the mention of "Apologia pro vitâ meâ" in *The Well-Beloved* (p. 32).

It is, however, in *Jude the Obscure* that Newman plays his most prominent role in Hardy's fiction. He looms large in Jude's initial infatuation with Christminster/Oxford and is naturally one of the great men of the past that Jude imagines in the Christminster alleys during his first evening walk in the city (p. 93); later in the night some words from the *Apologia* (quoted in entry 11) ring in his ears (p. 95). In his first optimistic fancies about Sue, Jude figures her as a "kindly star . . . a companion in Anglican worship" (p. 105); later, having found out Sue's objections to Christminster, he distressedly asks her: "How can you do otherwise than cling to a city in whose history such men as Newman, Pusey, Ward, Keble, loom so large! " (p. 120). As Jude himself comes to reject Christminster and her theology, he burns Newman's books (p. 262); and, on his death-bed Jude re-experiences the hallucinations of the first night in Christminster, but now he renounces his early ideals: "I don't revere all of them as I did then. I don't believe in half of them. The theologians, the apologists . . . no longer interest me" (p. 474). To an important extent, then, his relationship to Newman may be said to define Jude's religious and intellectual career.

The extant evidence of Hardy's own attitude to Newman suggests a similarity to that of Matthew Arnold as shown in David J. DeLaura's interesting and convincing discussion of the Arnold-Newman relationship in *Hebrew and Hellene in Victorian England: Newman, Arnold, and Pater* (Austin, Texas, 1969), esp. pp. 27–28 and 58–60: respect for the man and his culture, but a firm rejection of his theology; in entry 1166 Hardy quotes Arnold's observations on Newman as a model of urbanity of style.

3 *Apologia*, p. 48; Svaglic, p. 406. Quotation from Newman's continued analysis of the way in which he ought to refute Kingsley's accusations.

4 *Apologia*, p. 63; Svaglic, p. 20. Abridged quotation with a slight variation. Newman's notion of the sacrifice of celibacy is in the original context also linked to his conviction "that is was the will of God that . . . [he] should lead a single life."

5 *Apologia*, p. 65; Svaglic, p. 21. Abridged quotation with a variation. From Newman's discussion of Dr. Hawkin's influence on him. Edward Hawkins (1789–1882) was Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, 1828–74.

6 *Apologia*, p. 66; Svaglic, p. 22. Quotation with slight variations from the continued exposition of Hawkin's influence: "There is one other principle, which I gained from Dr. Hawkins, more directly bearing upon Catholicism, than any that I have mentioned; and that is the doctrine of Tradition. . . . He does not go one step, I think, beyond the high Anglican doctrine, nay he does not reach

it; but he does his work thoroughly, and his view was original with him, and his subject was a novel one at the time. He lays down a proposition, self-evident. . . ."

7 *Apologia*, p. 68; Svaglic, p. 23. Except for the first word, quotation with slight variations. Joseph Butler (1695–1752), bishop of Durham, wrote *Analogy of Religion* (1736). Entries 298–301, from Matthew Arnold, also concern Butler, who is one of the theologians Jude studies (p. 161) but whose books he later burns (p. 262). The principle of probability is also mentioned in entries 10 and 11. Hardy displays a positive attitude to the principle in the passage from the *Life* quoted in entry 2n and in a non-religious context; in a letter on Bergson, he writes: "*An élan vital* . . . seems much less probable than single and simple determinism, or what he calls mechanism, because it is more complex: and where proof is impossible probability must be our guide" (*Life*, p. 451).

8 *Apologia*, p. 72; Svaglic, p. 26. Quotation with variations. Analyzing the development of his religious opinions in 1827, Newman refers to some of his arguments on the Trinitarian doctrine which revealed "a certain disdain for antiquity" (p. 71; Svaglic, p. 25) as well as a preference for "intellectual excellence."

9 *Apologia*, p. 75; Svaglic, p. 28. Quotation with an annotation and slight variations.

10 *Apologia*, p. 78; Svaglic, p. 30. Quotation with annotations and slight variations. Hardy's extract follows a Newman reference to an "intellectual principle" (traced to Keble and further explained in entry 11n), which "runs through very much" of his writing, and which he thinks resolves the problem of the danger inherent in Butler's doctrine: "Butler teaches us that probability is the guide of life. The danger of this doctrine, in the case of many minds, is, its tendency to destroy in them absolute certainty, leading them to consider every conclusion as doubtful, and resolving truth into an opinion, which it is safe to obey or to profess, but not possible to embrace with full internal assent. If this were to be allowed. . . ."

11 *Apologia*, p. 81; Svaglic, p. 31. Abridged quotation with annotations and variations. Continuing his discussion of the doctrine of probability (see also entries 7 and 10), Newman gives an account of Keble's view of it: "I considered that Mr. Keble met this difficulty [see entry 10] by ascribing the firmness of assent which we give to religious doctrine, not to the probabilities which introduced it, but to to the living power of faith and love which accepted it. In matters of religion, he seemed to say, it is not merely probability which makes

us intellectually certain, but probability as it is put to account by faith and love" (p. 79; Svaglic, p. 30). Having then further analyzed Keble's reasoning, Newman offers his own apprehensions, which Hardy quotes and partly uses in *Jude* (p. 95; see also entry 2n and "Critical Introduction," p. xxiv).

John Keble's sermon on national apostasy in 1833 is generally regarded to have initiated the Oxford Movement. Keble is one of Jude's early heroes (p. 120; see entry 2n), and Hardy himself recalls Keble's "Evening Hymn" in the Mainz Cathedral (*Life*, p. 110).

12 *Apologia*, p. 106; Svaglic, p. 46. Quotation with slight variations. In a brief survey of the main characters in the early years of the Oxford Movement, Newman mentions, among others, Hurrel Froude (1803–36) and Hugh James Rose (1795–1838).

13 *Apologia*, p. 108; Svaglic, p. 47. Quotation with slight variations. One of the difficulties of the young Oxford Movement was the lack of a unity of place; Newman then mentions the need of a still more important unity, which Hardy notes.

14 *Apologia,* p. 207; Svaglic, p. 107. Quotation with slight variations. Newman offers an exposition of how, within the Oxford Movement against Liberalism (in religion), he searched for a "positive Church theory erected on a definite basis," and how this led him to the Anglican divines and to the "Roman controversy" (p. 195; Svaglic, p. 100); to illustrate the "*status* of the controversy" (p. 200; Svaglic, p. 103), Newman gives extracts from his own writings. Hardy quotes a passage introduced by the following:

> One remark more about Antiquity and the *Via Media.* As time went on, without doubting the strength of the Anglican argument from Antiquity, I felt also that it was not merely our special plea, but our only one. Also I felt that the *Via Media*, which was to represent it, was to be a sort of remodelled and adapted Antiquity. . . . But this circumstance, that after all we must use private judgment upon Antiquity, created a sort of distrust of my theory altogether, which in the conclusion of my Volume on the Prophetical Office I express thus: 'Now that. . . .' (p. 207; Svaglic, p. 107)

15 *Apologia*, p. 220; Svaglic, p. 114n. Quotation with variations. In tracing the succession of thoughts which made him doubt the "tenableness of Anglicanism" (p. 208; Svaglic, p. 108) and made him turn to Catholicism, Newman relates how he first tried to rescue "on an intelligible intellectual basis, the Roman Church from the designation of Antichrist" (p. 218; Svaglic, p. 114n). Hardy copies from Newman's excerpt from an early article of his on this matter.

16 *Apologia*, p. 284; Svaglic, p. 155. Quotation with an annotation and slight variations. From a section dealing with what Newman calls "my death-bed, as regards my member-ship with the Anglican Church" (p. 257; Svaglic, p. 137). Hardy quotes from Newman's account of his difficulties when he discovered "conclusions favourable to the Roman Church" in principles which he had "honestly preached as if Anglican" (p. 283; Svaglic, pp. 154–55). "Of course," Newman continues, "I did not like to confess this. . . . Again, sometimes when I was asked, whether certain conclusions did not follow from a certain principle, I might not be able to tell at the moment, especially if the matter was complicated; and for this reason, if for no other, because there is a great difference . . ." (pp. 283–84; Svaglic, p. 155).

17 *Apologia*, p. 297; Svaglic, p. 164. Quotation with slight variations. After Newman had retired to Littlemore, he was accused of rearing "a nest of Papists" (p. 162). Refuting the imputation, Newman quotes a letter sent to a young man to whom he gave spiritual guidance at the time. In Hardy's extract Newman refers to Henry Wilberforce (1807–73), a Roman Catholic journalist.

18 This hardly seems to be part of a comment on the *Apologia*, but I have not been able to find another source. The lines are crossed over, and the first part of the text is cut off (see entry 2n).

19 *Apologia*, p. 344; Svaglic, p. 194. Quotation with slight variations from a section in which Newman discloses his great hesitation in revealing the "state of unsettlement" (p. 343; Svaglic, p. 194) of his religious beliefs and thereby disturb the peace of mind of others.

In the MS. the Newman quotation is followed by a line of text, carefully crossed over, and quite illegible.

20 James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (London, 1859), II, 292; *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, rev. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934–64), I, 490. Annotations and quotation. In the DCM there is a set of the 1859 ed. in 8 vols., but it is not autographed by Hardy, nor is the quoted passage marked. Hardy's phrase is from the end of the introductory paragraph to ch. X: "In this great commercial country it is natural that a situation which produces much wealth should be considered as very respectable; and, no doubt, honest industry is entitled to esteem. But, perhaps, the too rapid advances of men of low extraction tends to lessen the value of that distinction by birth and gentility, which has ever been found beneficial to the grand scheme of subordination." The subject of the subordination of certain classes of society also appears in some entries (1221–27) from Herbert Spencer.

Social problems related to this subject are found in most of Hardy's writing, but in *Desperate Remedies* there seems to be a possible echo of Boswell's well-known phrase. Miss Aldclyffe has tried to make Edward marry his cousin as a condition for releasing his father from some financial obligations. As Edward indignantly refuses, Hardy comments: "Miss Aldclyffe, like a good many others in her position, had plainly not realized that a son of her tenant and inferior could have become an educated man, who had learnt to feel his individuality, . . . and that hence he had all a developed man's unorthodox opinion about the subordination of classes" (p. 225).

21 Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Warren Hastings," *Critical and Historical Essays* (London, 1854), II, 194; Grieve, I, 570. E. Hardy's hand. Part quotation, part paraphrase. All of Hardy's own page references to the *Essays* tally with the 2 vol. ed. of 1854 (as well as with the reprint of it in 1866) but not with the earlier editions or the 1 vol. ed. of 1874. For some brief notes on the lack of chronology of the Macaulay entries, see "Textual Introduction," p. xxxii.

Warren Hastings (1732–1818), the Governor-General of India, was impeached on grounds of corruption and cruelty in his Indian administration but was acquitted after a trial of 145 days (see also entries 22–24, 590).

Suraj-ud-Dowlah (Mirza Mohammed; d. 1757), ruler of Bengal, permitted the massacre known as "The Black Hole of Calcutta" (see entry 415).

As several entries show (21–48, 50–66, 71–81, 128–31, 134–44, 349, 366–68, 397–98, 415, 417–23, 437–41, 1029–30, 1034–48, 1055–58, 1144–45) Hardy's reading in and about Macaulay is quite extensive. He is one of the authors Hardy studied for stylistic purposes in 1875 (*Life*, p. 105), but Arnold's strictures on Macaulay's language are quoted without any hints of disagreement in entries 1144–45, and all passages from the *Essays* can hardly be considered stylistic excerpts only. Some seem to be study notes of a general nature, recording factual information of diverse kinds; occasionally such notes are used in his own creative writing, according to Hardy's aesthetic speculations in "The Profitable Reading of Fiction"; see "Critical Introduction," pp. xx–xxi, and notes for entries 22, 35, 79, 136, 415. In *A Pair of Blue Eyes* there is a direct reference to Macaulay's personal ideas. Comparing the handicraftsman of the countryside to his town colleague, Hardy notes that the country specimen is "like that clumsy pin-maker who made the whole pin, and who was despised by Adam Smith on that account and respected by Macaulay, much more the artist nevertheless" (p. 96). The relevant MS. sheet has not survived (Berg Collection).

22 "Hastings," p. 233; Grieve, I, 631. E. Hardy's hand. The entry is a mixture of quotation and summary of Macaulay's enthusiastic report: "The charge touching the spoliation of the Begums was brought forward by Sheridan, in a

speech which was so imperfectly reported that it may be said to be wholly lost, but which was, without doubt, the most elaborately brilliant of all the productions of his ingenious mind. The impression which it produced was such as has never been equalled . . . the finest that had been delivered within the memory of man."

Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816) gave his speech as the manager of the impeachment of Hastings in June 1788.

Hardy's allusion to Sheridan's speech in *The Return of the Native* shows a slightly bemused scepticism towards Macaulay's excited description. He uses Sheridan's reputed performance as one of a few instances where no "comparative criticism" has been possible to evaluate the quality of the phenomenon; Grandfer Cantle has given a rapt account of Clym Yeobright's father's greatness as a musician, and Hardy comments: "As with . . . Sheridan's renowned Begum Speech, and other such examples, the fortunate condition of its being for ever lost to the world invested the deceased Mr. Yeobright's *tour de force* on that memorable afternoon with a cumulative glory which comparative criticism, had that been possible, might considerably have shorn down" (p. 54).

For Sheridan's eloquence in his exchanges with Pitt in *The Dynasts*, see Wright, p. 141. Sheridan is also mentioned in passing in the *Life* as Hardy compares his own off-hand treatment of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* on one occasion to Sheridan's sudden dismissal of "a bill he had backed" (p. 91); in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* itself there is a light-hearted allusion to Sheridan's play *The Critic;* Elfride's father mildly upbraids his wife for her sarcastic analyses of some aristocratic faces in London streets: " 'Really, Charlotte.' said the vicar, 'you see as much in faces as Mr. Puff saw in Lord Burleigh's nod' " (p. 154). Cf. *The Critic*, III, i (*The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, ed. Cecil Price, Oxford, 1973, II, 543). The relevant MS. sheet of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* is not extant (Berg Collection).

23 "Hastings," pp. 234–35; Grieve, I, 635. E. Hardy's hand. In this subjective summary of Macaulay's description of the trial of Hastings, Hardy focussed on the vicissitude of fortune symbolized by the proceedings, whereas Macaulay had emphasized Hastings's preserved dignity: "He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect. . . ."

24 "Hastings," p. 234; Grieve, I, 633. E. Hardy's hand. Summary. Sir Philip Francis (1740–1818) was not elected to the committee for the impeachment of Hastings partly because "the inveterate hatred borne by Francis to Hastings had excited general disgust."

25 The exact source of this summary is uncertain. E. Hardy's hand. Macaulay refers to the political phenomenon in several places: in "Hallam's History" (pp. 92–93; Grieve, I, 67) and "The Earl of Chatham" (pp. 361–63; Grieve, I, 405–06) he dwells on the reversal of both political power and political ideologies. "Clive," in which he stresses the change of power (p. 102; Grieve, I, 500), is perhaps the most likely source, since nearby entries (26?, 28–29) are from this essay.

26 Summary, probably from "Clive"; for context, see entry 27n. E. Hardy's hand. Another possible source is "Hastings" (p. 193; Grieve, I, 588–89).

27 Possibly a deduction, in E. Hardy's hand, from "Clive" (p. 88; Grieve, I. 486–88; cf. also entry 26): "The history of the successors of Theodosius bears no small analogy to that of the successors of Aurungzebe. . . . It was . . . soon after his [Aurungzebe's] death . . . [that] every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas." "The Theodosian Code," however, is not mentioned in the essay.

28 "Clive," p. 89; Grieve, I, 489. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

29 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summary. Marquis Joseph Francois Dupleix (1697–1763) is also discussed later in the essay (pp. 90–91; Grieve, I, 490–91). See also entry 417.

Robert Clive, Baron Clive (1725–74), started as a writing clerk, a fact cited in *The Return of the Native* (p. 199) as a typical whim of the "waggery of fate" which starts people in positions incommensurate with their abilities manifested later in life.

30 "Frederic the Great," p. 245; Grieve, II, 121. E. Hardy's hand. Summary. The king is Frederic William I, father of Frederic the Great (1712–86).

31 "Frederic the Great," p. 251; Grieve, II, 130. E. Hardy's hand. Summary. Hardy's possibly ironic overtones are not found in Macaulay.

32 "Clive," p. 102; Grieve, I, 510. E. Hardy's hand. Part summary, part quotation. The Battle of Plassey, 1757. Meer Jaffier was the principal commander of Surajah Dowlah's troops. See also entry 21n. Hardy took some pride in this battle on account of the Dorset regiment taking part in it: see *One Fair Rare Woman*, p. 113.

33 "Clive," p. 103; Grieve, I, 511. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with comments. Charles Watson (1714–57) was commander-in-chief in the East Indies 1754–57.

34 "Hastings," p. 236; Grieve, I, 636. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations. William Windham (1750–1810) argues against Pitt – Hardy's hero – in *The Dynasts*, I, iii; nevertheless, as Wright, p. 142, points out, Windham's speech is rendered quite balanced and statesmanlike in the drama.

35 "Frederic the Great," p. 251; Grieve, II, 131. E. Hardy's hand. A slightly ironic comment on Macaulay's description of Frederic's war against Maria Theresa: "Her situation and her personal qualities were such as might be expected to move the mind of any generous man to pity, admiration, and chivalrous tenderness."

Hardy remembers the passage as he describes, good-humouredly, Diggory Venn's decision to help Thomasin: "He had determined upon the bold stroke of asking for an interview with Miss Vye — to attack her position as Thomasin's rival either by art or by storm, showing therein, somewhat too conspicuously, the want of gallantry characteristic of a certain astute sort of men, from clowns to kings. The great Frederick making war on the beautiful Archduchess, Napoleon refusing terms to the beautiful Queen of Prussia, were not more dead to difference of sex than the reddleman was, in his peculiar way in planning the displacement of Eustacia" (*The Return of the Native*, p. 101). Cf. also Napoleon's somewhat ambiguous gallantry in *The Dynasts* (I:viii), discussed by Wright p. 203.

36–38 "Frederic the Great," p. 255; Grieve, II, 136. E. Hardy's hand. The entries mix quotation and summary. There is a marked similarity between the scene here noted and Hardy's dramatization of Napoleon entrusting Marie Louise and their son, the King of Rome, to the National Guard in *The Dynasts* (IV:ii).

39 "Frederic the Great," p. 257; Grieve, II, 139. E. Hardy's hand. Summary. Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1736–1818); for Napoleon's military skill as dramatized in *The Dynasts*, see Wright, esp. pp. 166, 183, 191–99, 237–40, and 267–76.

40 "Frederic the Great," p. 257: Grieve, II, 140. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

41 "Frederic the Great," p. 256; Grieve, II, 138. E. Hardy's hand. Part summary, part quotation.

42 "Frederic the Great," p. 257; Grieve, II, 140. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

43 "Frederic the Great," p. 262; Grieve, II, 147. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with variations. Bastiani, abbé (d. 1787), Italian adventurer.

44 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summary. Argens, Jean-Baptiste De Boyer (1704–71).

45 "Frederic the Great," p. 262; Grieve, II, 148. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

46 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

47 "Frederic the Great," p. 263; Grieve, II, 148. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with variations.

48 "Frederic the Great," p. 264; Grieve, II, 150. E. Hardy's hand. Summary. For a few notes on Voltaire, see entries 52n and 1235n.

49 "Hans Christian Andersen," *The Spectator*, 48 (Aug. 14, 1875), 1031. E. Hardy's hand. Summary from a very appreciative obituary notice which emphasized Andersen's strong individuality and innocent vanity: he was "a child, according to the ideal of childhood; keenly sensitive, entirely egoistical, innocently vain . . ."; by virture of its "frankness, its simple reliance on every one's absolute admiration," his vanity was preserved "from ridicule or censure; it was so childlike."

50–51 "Frederic the Great," p. 265; Grieve, II, 153. E. Hardy's hand. Summarized from: "A few days after his [Voltaire's] arrival [at Frederic's court], he could not help telling his niece that the amiable King had a trick of giving a sly scratch with one hand, while patting and stroking with the other. . . . This eccentric friendship was fast cooling. Never had there met two persons so exquisitely fitted to plague each other. Each of them had exactly the fault of which the other was most impatient."

52 "Frederic the Great," p. 266; Grieve, II, 153–54. E. Hardy's hand. Summarized from: "In truth, of all the intellectual weapons which have been wielded by man, the most terrible was the mockery of Voltaire. . . . every opponent, however strong in his cause and talents, in his station and his character, who ventured to encounter the great scoffer. . . ."

Voltaire's sharp and effective anti-Christian scoffings are evoked on two occasions in *Jude the Obscure* to suggest Jude's suffering – and Sue's stingingly eloquent tongue – as she acridly criticizes his Christianity. On the first occasion, Jude responds to her irreverent attack on some ecclesiastical interpretations of the Bible: "Jude looked pained. 'You are quite Voltairean! ' he murmured") p. 182); on the second, to her sarcastical comments on the disparity between his theory and practice as regards the sacrament of marriage: "Sue, you are terribly

cutting when you like to be — a perfect Voltaire! " (pp. 199–200). Voltaire's anti-Christian bias is also remembered in the "Apology" (Orel, p. 54).

53 "Frederic the Great," p. 267; Grieve, II, 155. E. Hardy's hand. Summary. Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1758), French mathematician and astronomer.

54 "Frederic the Great," p. 268; Grieve, II, 157. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

55 "Frederic the Great," p. 266; Grieve, II, 153. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

56 Possibly a comment on Frederic's manner towards women: "Frederic the Great," p. 271; Grieve, II, 161. E. Hardy's hand. His sarcasm is, however, referred to in several places in the essay.

57 "Frederic the Great," p. 271; Grieve, II, 161. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

58 "Frederic the Great," p. 271; Grieve, II, 162. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

59 "Frederic the Great," p. 275; Grieve, II, 165–66. E. Hardy's hand. Summary, with key words quoted.

60 "Frederic the Great," p. 276; Grieve, II, 169–70. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary.

61 "Frederic the Great," p. 277; Grieve, II, 172. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

62 "Frederic the Great," p. 281; Grieve, II, 177. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary. The comparison to Napoleon is Hardy's own. A similar analogy comes to his mind in *The Mayor of Casterbridge:* "That dinner at the King's Arms with his friends had been Henchard's Austerlitz: he had had his successes since, but his course had not been upward" (pp. 154–55). While strengthening the entry's suggestion that Hardy's imagination readily evoked Napoleon's Austerlitz as a symbol of the precariousness of human success, the association in the novel is, of course, also part of Hardy's attempt at conferring heroic and tragic grandeur on Henchard.

63 "Frederic the Great," p. 281; Grieve, II, 177. E. Hardy's hand. Summary. Leopold Joseph, Graf von Daun (1705–66), Austrian field marshal. Ernst Gideon, Freiherr von Laudon (1717–90), Austrian field marshal.

64 Possibly a summary of Macaulay's views on Frederic's 1757 campaign, "to the vicissitudes of which it will be difficult to find any parallel in ancient or modern history," "Frederic the Great," p. 279, Grieve, II, 174. E. Hardy's hand. There are also other references in the essay to the devastations of the Seven Years' War (1756–63).

65 "Hampden," p. 192; Grieve, I. 104. E. Hardy's hand. Summary. John Hampden (1594–1643), statesman. Richard Baxter (1615–91), Puritan, wrote *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* (1650).

66 "Hampden," p. 194; Grieve, I. 108. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with variations; sentences are out of order.

67 Unidentified.

68 "Miscellaneous," *The Milliner and Dressmaker and Warehouseman's Gazette*, VI (Nov. 1875), 23. E. Hardy's hand. Comment on, and summary of: "Twenty-Eight miles of carpets of the ordinary width will be required to carpet the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, about being completed, and which is the largest hotel in the world."

69–70 James Mew, "The Arabian Nights," *Cornhill*, XXXII (Dec. 1875), 716. E. Hardy's hand. Summaries with key phrases quoted. The entries are not in chronological order. The essay is also used for entry 92.

71–75 "Burleigh," pp. 223–24; Grieve, I, 82–83. E. Hardy's hand. The various characteristics of the courtiers and Queen Elizabeth I are extracted from: "What the haughty daughter of Henry needed, was a moderate, cautious, flexible minister. . . . And such a minister she found in Burleigh. No arts could shake the confidence which she reposed in her old and trusty servant. The courtly graces of Leicester, the brilliant talents and accomplishments of Essex, touched the fancy, perhaps the heart, of the woman; but no rival could deprive the Treasurer of the place which he possessed in the favour of the Queen. . . . For Burleigh alone, a chair was set in her presence; and there the old minister, by birth only a plain Lincolnshire esquire, took his ease, while the haughty heirs of the Fitzalans and the De Veres humbled themselves to the dust around him."

William Cecil, Baron Burghley (1520–98), was Secretary of State 1558–72, and Lord High Treasurer 1572–98. Robert Devereux; second Earl of Essex (1566–1601); Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1532?–88). Of the Fitzalans and De Veres, Macaulay may have had in mind Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of Arundel (1511?–80) and Edward De Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1550–1604).

There is a passing reference to Burleigh in *A Laodicean*: Somerset's landlady "who always liked to reply in person to Somerset's inquiries, apparently thinking him, by virtue of his drawing implements and liberality of payment, a possible lord of Burleigh . . ." (p. 111). See also entry 22n.

In *The Return of the Native* Hardy suggests that Eustacia's dignity may be accounted for by her possibly aristocratic lineage: "Where did her dignity come from? By a latent vein from Alcinous' line . . . or from Fitzalan and De Vere, her maternal grandfather having had a cousin in the peerage?" (p. 78). The negative "haughty" of entry 75 is not reflected in the Wessex edition. In the MS., however, the unfavourable overtones of these aristocratic names remain: "Where did her dignity come from? By no side passage from Fitzalan or De Vere. ~~It was the favours of heaven. Moreover of late years~~ opportunity had . . ." (f. 77). Another line of revision is crossed over and for the most part illegible. The manuscript's final version reads: "Where did her dignity come from? By no side passage from Fitzalan or De Vere. It was the gift of heaven — it was a happy convergence of natural laws." The possible implication in the various stages of the MS. that Eustacia's dignity should derive from aristocratic - Fitzalan or De Vere – wild oats was deleted for the Osgood, McIlvaine edition, 1895. The deletion removes the potentially negative associations of the aristocratic names at the same time as it cleans up Eustacia's family background.

76 "Burleigh," p. 224; Grieve, I, 83. E. Hardy's hand. Entries 76–79 are quoted and summarized from the following passage:

> The only event of modern times which can be properly compared with the Reformation is the French Revolution, or, to speak more accurately, that great revolution of political feeling which took place in almost every part of the civilised world during the eighteenth century, and which obtained in France its most terrible and signal triumph. Each of these memorable events may be described as a rising up of the human reason against a Caste. The one was a struggle of the laity against the clergy for intellectual liberty; the other was a struggle of the people against princes and nobles for political liberty. In both cases, the spirit of innovation was at first encouraged by the class to which it was likely to be most prejudicial. It was under the patronage of Frederic, . . . and of the grandees of France, that the philosophy which afterwards threatened all the thrones and aristocracies of Europe with destruction first became formidable.

In his own copy of John Morley's *Diderot and the Encyclopaedists*, Hardy underlined "that rude Reformation, a medley of superstition and freedom" (quoted in Wright, p. 36).

77 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. For context see entry 76n.

78 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. For context see entry 76n.

79 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. For context see entry 76n. Summary.

In the early versions of *The Return of the Native* Hardy used this entry to support and enrich his generalization that to "court their own discomfiture by love is a common instinct with certain perfervid women" (Wessex Ed., p. 169). In the MS. the sentence continued: ". . . [perfervid women] whose temerity in this respect resembles that of the aristocratic triflers who previous to the French Revolution patronized & coquetted with the philosophy which afterwards proved their ruin" (f. 166). For the *Belgravia* serialization Hardy made only a minor revision: "daring aristocrats" were substituted for "aristocratic triflers," *Belgravia,* XXXV (May 1878), 264, and this version was kept for the first edition (II, 22). The comparison involving the "Literary Notes" material was first deleted for the Osgood, McIlvaine edition (1895).

80 "Burleigh," p. 224; Grieve, I, 84. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

Count Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803), Italian dramatist.

81 "Burleigh," p. 225; Grieve, I, 84. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary.

82 "Representative Brewers," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 1, 1876), 17. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and abridged quotation.

The incongruity of this incident seems to have come to Hardy's mind in a rather unexpected context. Replying in February 1904 to the objections of the *TLS* critic to the dramatic form of *The Dynasts*, Hardy wrote: "if your reviewer's statement that the stage-form is inherently an unnatural one for reading, . . . were strictly accurate, I would concede to him the expediency, though not the obligation, of avoiding it in a book. But why, one asks, it is bad for reading? Because, I understand him to answer, it was invented for the stage. He might as well assert that bitter ale is bad drinking for England because it was invented for India" (Orel, p. 142).

The "astronomical incident" is possibly found in entry 125.

83 One of the many possible sources for this entry, in E. Hardy's hand, is "The Vendôme Column," *Sat. Rev.* XL (Dec. 25, 1875), 790: "The picture he [the author of a biography of Napoleon] thus paints is the picture of a man to whom scruples were utterly unknown. That Napoleon was unscrupulous was no new revelation. His admirers always said he was unscrupulous, but argued that a man in his position cannot be expected to be scrupulous."

84 The entry, in E. Hardy's hand, possibly draws on W. Smith, *A Smaller Classical Dictionary of Biography, Mythology, and Geography* (London, 1852): "He [Isocrates] was an ardent lover of his country; and, accordingly, when the battle of Chaeronea had destroyed the last hopes of freedom, he put an end to his life, B.C. 338, at the age of 98" (p. 223). According to Wreden, item 187, Hardy had a copy of the 7th ed. (1862) of this dictionary: "Signed by W.E. and E.L. Gifford, Hardy's father-in-law and his wife. Used quite thoroughly by Hardy since he has marked and underlined a number of words and articles."

On the inside of the back cover of Vol. VI. of Hardy's own copy of Gibbon's *History* (see entry 1045n), there is the notation "Isocrates 252." It refers to a footnote to Gibbon's criticism of Calvin in ch. LIV, especially of Calvin's role in the execution of Servetus: "A Catholic inquisitor yields the same obedience which he requires, but Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as he would be done by: a rule which I read in a moral treatise of Isocrates (in Nicole, tom. i. p. 93, edit. Battle), four hundred years before the publication of the gospel."

85 Leader, *D. News*, Nov. 27, 1875, p. 5. E. Hardy's hand. Summary from a leader on the purchase of a large amount of shares in the Suez Canal Company. In 1875 Britain became the single largest shareholder of the company (*EB*).

86 "A Pioneer Visit to India in advance of H. R. M. The Prince of Wales," *The Graphic* ["Indian Number"], 12 (Oct. 20, 1875), 3. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation.

Alphonse Karr (1808–98), French critic and dramatist.

87 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with variations.

88 *Ibid.*, pp. 3–6. E. Hardy's hand. Summary from a section called "Aden."

89 "High Court of Justice," *D. News*, Nov. 27, 1875, p. 2. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

90 H. P. S., "Mandrin, Smuggler and Highwayman," *The Graphic*, 12 (Nov. 27, 1875), 523. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary, with a word (? "accept") dropped out by accident. Mandrin operated in the 18th century in Dauphiné, "one of the old provinces . . . of pre-Revolutionary France, in the south-east portion of France, between Provence and Savoy" (*EB*).

91 "Cawnpore: General Facts," *The Graphic* ["Indian Number"] 12 (Oct. 20, 1875), 34. E. Hardy's hand. Summarized from: "It would be puerile to attempt to picture the great cities of India and omit Cawnpore, and useless to refer to

Cawnpore without referring in some way to the Mutiny. . . . In February of that memorable year [1857] a native policeman was seen to enter a village in Oude, carrying two chuppaties (cakes) and was known to order ten more of the same kind to be made and given to each of the five nearest villages. These were what a writer whose burning words are among the enduring mementoes of the Mutiny, terms the Fiery Cross of India." The explicit reference to Scottish history is Hardy's own. The Scottish Fiery Cross was "a signal sent in ancient times to call a clan to arms. It consisted of a wooden cross, the ends of which had been charred and then dipped in blood" (Webster's).

In a copy of *The Dynasts* inscribed "To G. W. Forrest: from Thomas Hardy," there is an autograph letter of Oct. 10, 1912, to Forrest, signed "Thomas Hardy." The letter acknowledges the gift of Forrest's A *History of the Indian Mutiny* (3 vols., 1904–12) and adds: "I did not know till now, by the way that your father was a sharer in the events. . . . I am, of course, old enough to remember the news of the incidents coming, & how excited thoughtful people were at home"; quoted in *Thomas Hardy. O. M. 1840–1928: Catalogue of a Memorial Exhibition,* prepared by Richard L. Purdy (New Haven, 1928), p. 26.

Sir George William David Stark Forrest (1845–1926).

92 James Mew, "The Arabian Nights," *Cornhill,* XXXII (Dec. 1875), 723–24. E. Hardy's hand. Paraphrase and quotation. See also entries 69–70.

93 The Bible, II Chron. x: 6–18. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key phrases quoted.

There is an echo of the passage in *The Hand of Ethelberta*: Ethelberta's father tells Christopher about her trying but successful relationship with Lord Mountclere's family: "She was put upon her mettle; and one by one they got to feel there was somebody among them whose little finger, if they insulted her, was thicker than a Mountclere's loins" (p. 456).

94 Thomas Carlyle, "Mirabeau," *Works,* X, 165. For a brief general textual note on the Carlyle material see entry 770n. E. Hardy's hand. Extracted from: "The wild man and his beautiful sad-heroic woman lived out their romance of reality, as well as was to be expected. Hot tempers go not always softly together; neither did the course of true love, either in wedlock or in elopement, ever run smooth. Yet, it did run, in this instance, copious, if not smooth; with quarrel and reconcilement, tears and heart-effusion."

Hardy owned the "People's Edition" (1871–74) in 37 vols. of Carlyle's *Works* (Hodgson, item 38), and he read and re-read Carlyle over a long period of time. The possibly earliest evidence that I have seen of his reading in Carlyle is the great number of quotations in the "1867" notebook; there is also, of course, the well-known note for July, 1867, listing Carlyle's "Jean Paul Richter" as one of

Hardy's "Cures for despair" (*Life*, p. 58). As late as 1890 Carlyle is mentioned as being on the list of authors read during the year (*Life*, p. 230). That Hardy kept up his acquaintance with Carlyle also in the intervening years is testified by several references in the *Life* as well as by numerous entries from and on Carlyle in the "Literary Notes" (see Index).

Hardy's many-faceted response to Carlyle — which, of course, can only be hinted at here — was both positive and negative. As such it seems to have been rather typical of the Victorian reaction in general, as this is authoritatively outlined by G. B. Tennyson in "Thomas Carlyle," *Victorian Prose: A Guide to Research*, ed. David J. DeLaura (New York, 1973), pp. 33–35. Hardy's ambivalence was not perhaps as marked as that of Arnold to Carlyle in ideological matters, as described by DeLaura in his brilliant "Arnold and Carlyle," *PMLA*, LXXIX (March 1964), 104–09. But, in terms of stylistic influence, there may be a possible and relevant similarity to DeLaura's observations; for, as DeLaura shows how Arnold's style was at times both consciously and unconsciously influenced by Carlyle, Edmund Blunden has suggested that Hardy's "Johnsonian pomposities" may well derive from Carlyle, so that "Hardy's love and exact memory of Carlyle's work was a mixed blessing to him in his own" (Blunden, p. 223). DeLaura does not, of course, argue that Arnold's style suffered in the same way, and it may be significant to note here that Hardy did not include any of Arnold's strictures on Carlyle's thought or style in his long excerpts from "Heine" and "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" (see entries 1017, 1173–75, and 1159–65).

In Hardy's published references to Carlyle there is a distinction made between aesthetics and ideological matters. Thus he admired Carlyle's understanding of, and skill in, the art of bringing characters to life by delineating their physical attributes. In a letter of May 20, 1906 to *The Times* on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of John Stuart Mill's birth, Hardy offered his own impression of Mill as he once saw him at a meeting and prefaced his description by observing that "writers like Carlyle . . . and others have held that anything, however imperfect, which affords an idea of a human personage in his actual form and flesh, is of value in respect of him" (*Life*, p. 330). The passage in Carlyle which Hardy had in mind, he quoted, it seems, some fourteen years later in a prefatory note to Joshua James Foster's *Wessex Worthies* (1920): " 'In all my [Carlyle's] poor historical investigations it has been and always is, one of the most primary wants to produce a bodily likeness of the personage enquired after — a good portrait if such exists; failing that, even an indifferent if sincere one. In short, any representation made by a faithful creature of that face and figure which he saw with his eyes, and which I can never see with mine, is now valuable to me, and much better than none at all' " (Orel, p. 88). For other instances of Hardy in agreement with some of Carlyle's aesthetic theories see the *Life*, p. 137 and Orel, p. 125.

It is, however, in regard to Carlyle's aestethic achievements that Hardy paid his highest tribute to Carlyle. In his contribution to a symposium in the *Fortnightly Review* (August, 1887) on "Fine Passages in Verse and Prose; Selected by Living Men of Letters," Hardy wrote — after having noted the difficulty of the task of choosing in general and as to poetry in particular: " 'With regard to prose the task is somewhat more practicable, and yet how hopeless! But I will go thus far: I think the passages in Carlyle's *French Revolution* on the silent growth of the oak have never been surpassed by anything I have read, except perhaps by his sentences on night in a city, as specimens of contemplative prose (if they may be so called)' " (Orel, p. 107).

As regards Carlyle's thought, Hardy was more sceptical; the note for February 10, 1891 testifies clearly: " 'Newman and Carlyle. . . . Carlyle was a poet with the reputation of a philosopher. Neither was truly a thinker' " (*Life*, p. 233). Hardy's assessment is remarkably close to that of his friend Frederick Harrison (see 1213n), of whose *The Choice of Books and Other Literary Pieces* (1887) Hardy owned a copy (DCM, autographed "Thomas Hardy" on the title page), and in which he marked several of Harrison's observations on Froude's *Life of Carlyle* (see 1337n). Among the passages Hardy singled out are: "Carlyle, being not a philosopher, but a prose poet" (p. 196; underlined by Hardy); and (marked in the margin): "No thinker indeed he [Carlyle], if by thinking we mean the coherent working out of complex questions to practical results. None but a few literary dreamers even call him thinker" (p. 198).

The potentially significant influence of Carlyle on Hardy has attracted surprisingly little critical attention. For passing remarks, see Evelyn Hardy, p. 177; Pinion, p. 206; Rutland, p. 72; Southerington, pp. 99, 232; Stewart, p. 217; Weber, p. 243; Wright, p. 89, and for an interesting note on the characterization of Henchard in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and Carlyle's "Goethe's Helena," Benjamin Sankey, "Henchard and Faust," *MLN*, III (Dec. 1965), 123–25.

95 "The Prince of Wales in India," *D. News*, Dec. 14, 1875, p. 2. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with variations. Cf. the epigraph for *Jude the Obscure:* " 'The letter killeth'."

96 Unidentified. E. Hardy's hand.

97 Unidentified. E. Hardy's hand.

98 Leader, *The Times*, Nov. 7, 1874, p. 9. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

99 Leader, *The Times*, Nov. 7, 1874, p. 9. E. Hardy's hand. Abbreviated quotation.

100 Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, *My Novel, or Varieties of English Life*, Library Edition (Edinburgh and London, 1859–74), II, 154. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

How well Hardy knew Lytton and his writing is not known. They met at least once at a dinner at the Savile Club (June 8, 1887; *Life*, p. 200); and, in "The Profitable Reading of Fiction" Hardy refers to Lytton's *Pelham:* in the section dealing with "the accidents and appendages of narrative" (see "Critical Introduction," pp. xx–xxi), Hardy supposes that his "judicious inquirer . . . may even wish to brush up his knowledge of quotations from ancient and other authors by studying some chapters of *Pelham*" (Orel, p. 113).

Hardy owned a 2 vols. ed. of *My Novel* (n.d.); see Wreden, item 367.

101 Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma* (London, 1873), p. 1; Super, VI, 164. E. Hardy's hand. The page reference also tallies with the 2nd and 3rd editions (1873), but there is some slight textual evidence suggesting that Hardy did not use the 4th (1874) or 5th (1876) editions (see entry 102n). Condensed from: " 'what more than anything distinguishes the Greeks from the barbarians of ancient and modern times, is the idea of a culture comprehending body *and soul* in an equal measure.' "

For Hardy's "Hellenism," see "Critical Introduction," p. xxv and entries 1176, 1178, 1189.

In May 1876 Leslie Stephen wrote to Hardy in answer to a plea for advice on literary criticism that "Sainte Beuve, and Mat. Arnold (in a smaller way) are the only modern critics who seem to me worth reading" ("Critical Introduction," p. xviii). Hardy does not seem to have paid much attention to Stephen's preference for the French critic, if one is to judge from the absence of any reference to Sainte-Beuve in Hardy's writing. Hardy did, however, read extensively in Arnold as a great number of entries in the "Literary Notes" show (see Index).

There are several both explicit and implicit indications of Arnoldian ideas in Hardy's work, and the Arnold-Hardy relationship has attracted some scholarly attention: Dorothy R. Mills, "The Influence of Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* on the Novels of Thomas Hardy," Diss. Oklahoma State Univ. 1966; there are passing references in Evelyn Hardy, p. 49, Pinion, p. 205, Stewart, p. 34, and Wright, pp. 21–22. The most significant critical analyses, however, are found in David J. DeLaura's " 'The Ache of Modernism' in Hardy's Later Novels," *ELH*, 34 (Sept. 1967), 380–99, Ward Hellstrom's "Hardy's Scholar-Gipsy," *The English Novel in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. G. Goodin (Urbana, Chicago, London, 1972), pp. 196–213, and in Millgate, esp. pp. 174–77 and 333–35; Millgate uses several entries in the "Literary Notes" to support his argumentation.

While acknowledging the ambiguity of Hardy's attitude towards, and artistic use of, Arnold, both DeLaura and Millgate tend to emphasize the hostile aspects of Hardy's reaction. It may, in my opinion, be equally important to stress Hardy's ready acceptance of, in particular, a great deal of Arnold's literary criticism, both in its aesthetic and ideological ramifications.

This is not to deny that Hardy found something to disagree with in both Arnold the man, and Arnold the thinker. As has often been noted, Hardy's first personal meeting with Arnold was not a favourable one (*Life*, p. 134), but the second was more positive, and Hardy approvingly quoted *The Times*'s obituary notice which spoke "quite truly of his [Arnold's] 'enthusiasm for the nobler and detestation of the meaner elements in humanity' " (*Life*, p. 207). It may, in fact, have been the ethical idealism in Arnold's literary criticism that especially appealed to Hardy. Only a few instances where there is agreement between the two on matters in this field can be listed here: (a) the contrast between the naturalistic and the moral interpretation of life in literature; this is a structural element in Hardy's "Science of Fiction" and is referred to in his "The Profitable Reading of Fiction" (Orel, p. 119). Cf. with quotations from Arnold in entries 1147, 1151, 1170, and 1171. See also "Critical Introduction," pp. xxii–xxiii and xxvi–xxvii; (b) the idea of art as a representation, not a transcript, of life: see, for instance, *Life*, p. 163 and Orel, pp. 115–19, 137 and cf. with excerpts from Arnold in entries 1102, 1149, 1151, 1171, and 1179; (c) "the noble and profound application of ideas to life": cf. Orel, pp. 54, 126, 132–33, and 154 with entries 1102, 1105, 1159, and 1180; (d) the notion of the importance of the personality of the artist: cf. Orel, pp. 115, and 122–24 as well as *Life*, pp. 153, 225, and 329 with entries 1104 and 1017. For a more detailed account and discussion of the potential influence of Arnold on Hardy in aesthetics and other matters, see my forthcoming essay "Hardy and Arnold."

Arnold's religious writings, however, including *Literature and Dogma*, were less acceptable, judging from the following note from October 7, 1888: " 'The besetting sin of modern literature is its insincerity. Half its utterances are qualified, even contradicted, by an aside, and this particularly in morals and religion. When dogma has to be balanced on its feet by such hair-splitting as the late Mr. M. Arnold's it must be in a very bad way' " (*Life*, p. 215). On the other hand Hardy was aware of Arnold's hostility towards orthodox Christianity, and he quotes from a passage in which Arnold criticizes Christian ethics (see entry 300n); and, in the essay on Wordsworth (quoted entries 1102–09) he came across Arnold's strictures on Wordsworth's orthodoxy, which he himself complained about (see entry 1102n).

In addition to the general but pervasive Arnoldian themes of the "ache of modernism" and "the modern spirit" (see DeLaura and Millgate above), there are also a few more specific allusions to Arnold in Hardy's fiction. There is, for instance, a possible echo in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, when, with

good-humoured irony, directed towards the speaker herself, Hardy makes Liddy, Bathsheba's unpolished maid, exclaim: "the Philistines be upon us" (p. 86). In the same novel the notion of the "inelasticity" of the English in ideas as compared to the greater flexibility of the French (p. 358) possibly derives from Arnold's observations on the subject in "Heine," "Joubert," and "The Function of Criticism" (Super, III, 112, 193, 268) — all quoted from in the "Literary Notes." The same is true about Hardy's definite assertion in the Preface to *Jude* that "We Britons hate ideas" (Orel, p. 35).

It is hardly surprising that *Jude*, set in Christminster/Oxford, should contain references to the professor of poetry there between 1857 and 1867. Hellstrom (see above) goes as far as to "suspect that the germ of *Jude* may well have been generated in Hardy by his reading of Arnold" (p. 196), and proceeds to draw comparisons mainly between the problems dealt with in "The Scholar-Gipsy," "Empedocles on Etna," and Hardy's novel. See also Hellstrom's "Hardy's Use of Setting and *Jude the Obscure*," *VN*, no. 25 (Spring 1964), 11–13. With reference to Hardy's attitude towards Arnold, however, Arnold's most important role in the novel may be as one of Jude's midnight apparitions: "One of the spectres (who afterwards mourned Christminster as 'the home of lost causes,' though Jude did not remember this) was now apostrophizing her thus:

'Beautiful city! so venerable, so lovery, so unravaged by the fierce intellectual life of our century, so serene! . . . Her ineffable charm keeps ever calling us to the true goal of all of us, to the ideal, to perfection" (pp. 94–95; from Arnold's Preface to *Essays in Criticism* First Series; Super, III, 290). It seems significant, that is, that Hardy explicitly points out that, in his youthful and blind infatuation with Oxford, Jude does not remember Arnold's perspective on the place as a "home of lost causes," a perspective shared by Hardy and reflected in the novel as a whole.

For additional observations on specific allusions to Arnold in Hardy's writing, see annotations for individual entries.

102 *Literature and Dogma*, Preface, p. xxx; Super, VI, 160. E. Hardy's hand. Summarized from: ". . . by merit alone the Book of Esther could have now no right to be in our Canon while Ecclesiasticus is not, nor the Epistle of Jude and the Second Epistle of Peter rather than the Epistle of Clement." The fact that Hardy uses the form "the epistle of Clement" (the text of the first three editions, except that "Epistle" is capitalized) instead of "the First Epistle of Clement" (the form of editions 4 and 5) may suggest that Hardy read one of the first three (1873).

For studies of Hardy and the Bible see: Alan D. Butler, "The Bible in Thomas Hardy," Diss. Univ. of N. Carolina 1929; Madie Hollmig, "Thomas Hardy's use of the Bible in his Prose," Diss. Univ. of Texas 1930; Shobba Mane, "The Impact of the English Bible on the Thought and Art of Thomas Hardy," Diss. Toronto

Univ. 1963; Louis Morcos, "*The Dynasts* and the Bible," *Bulletin of English Studies* (Cairo, Egypt, 1955), 29–65; Julian Moynahan, "*The Mayor of Casterbridge* and the old Testament's First Book of Samuel: A Study in Some Literary Relationships," *PMLA*, LXXI (March 1956), 118–30; Michael H. Murray, "The Pattern of Biblical and Classical Myth in the Novels of Thomas Hardy," Diss. N.Y.Univ. 1973; See also Rutland, pp. 1–8 and Kenneth Phelps, *Annotations by Thomas Hardy in his Bibles and Prayer-Book* (Monographs on the Life, Times and Works of Thomas Hardy, 32; Mount Durand, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, C. I., 1966).

103 *Literature and Dogma*, p. 15; Super, VI, 173. E. Hardy's hand. Hardy summarizes from Arnold's emphasis on the practical side of religion; "the difficulty of religion," Arnold argues, "is a practical one; . . . It extends to rightness in the whole range of what we call *conduct*; in three-fourths, therefore, at the very lowest computation, of human life."

For a forceful discussion of Hardy's attitude towards Arnold's religion, see DeLaura.

104 *Literature and Dogma*, p. 23; Super, VI, 179; a similar notion is also expressed p. 49; Super, p. 194. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and comment. Hardy's parenthetical comment is, of course, typical of his general sceptical view of the possibility of human reason controlling human instincts. For other possible reflections of Hardy's anti-rationalistic tendencies see entries 1, 666, and 1018. See also my forthcoming *Psychological Vision and Social Criticism in the Novels of Thomas Hardy.*

105 George Henry Lewes, *The Story of Goethe's Life* (London, 1873), p. 16, E. Hardy's hand. Summary. The edition of the biography Hardy used is ascertained by the page references in entries 116–120; it is an abridged version of *The Life and Works of Goethe*, 2 vols. (London, 1855). For additional notes on Hardy's reading of the book, see entry 118n.

In Hardy's fiction there are some allusions to Goethe: *A Laodicean*, pp. 230 and 334 (see entry 1205n); *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, p. 100 (see entry 1108n). Entry 1108 may also be echoed in Hardy's introduction to *Select Poems of William Barnes* (Orel, p. 80). In a footnote to "Candour in English Fiction," Hardy lists *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister* among the "great works of the past" which Victorian prudery "would aim to exclude from circulation, if not from publication" (Orel, p. 130).

106 *Ibid.*, p. 17. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

107 *Ibid.*, p. 30. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

108 *Ibid.*, p. 113. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with variations. For allusions to Socrates in Hardy's works see entry 443n.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 129. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation from, and parenthetical comment on, a letter from Goethe to Countess Augusta von Stolberg.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 133. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and quotation.

111 *Ibid.*, p. 158. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and quotation from: "Thoroughly to appreciate the effect of Goethe's influence with women, we must remember the state of feeling and opinion at the time. . . . It is needless to add that marriage was to a great extent what Sophie Arnould with terrible wit called it — 'the sacrament of adultery'; and that on the subject of the sexes the whole tone of feeling was low."

Sophie Arnould (1744–1802), French singer.

112–13 *Ibid.*, p. 127–28. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation and summary from Lewes's account of Goethe's first impressions of Spinoza: "But what especially riveted me to him [Spinoza], was the boundless disinterestedness which shone forth in every sentence. That wonderful sentiment, '*He who truly loves God must not require God to love him in return*,' together with all the preliminary propositions on which it rests, and all the consequences deduced from it, filled my mind [Lewes's footnote: The proposition to which Goethe refers is doubtless the XIX. of Book v. "*Qui Deum amat, conari non potest, ut Deus ipsum contra amet.*"]. To be disinterested in everything, but most of all in love and friendship, was my highest desire, my maxim, my practice, so that that saucy speech of Philine's 'If I love thee, what is that to thee?' was spoken right out of my heart."

Hardy's own reaction to Spinoza is complex, and what he read by him uncertain. The first specific reference to the philosopher in Hardy's fiction is somewhat ambiguous. In *The Woodlanders* Fitzpiers, who is not sympathetically drawn in general (see DeLaura, pp. 392–94), is a Spinoza follower, and echoes Spinozist notions on two occasions, notions in harmony with Hardy's own ideas: " 'Ah, Grammer,' he [Fitzpiers] said at another time, 'let me tell you that Everything is Nothing. There's only Me and Not Me in the whole world.' And he told me that no man's hands could help what they did, any more than the hands of a clock" (p. 55). [Fitzpiers to Winterborne]: "Human love is a subjective thing — the essence itself of man, as that great thinker Spinoza says — *ipsa hominis essentia* — it is joy accompanied by an idea which we project against any suitable object in the line of our vision . . . indifferently. . . . Such miserable creatures of circumstance are we all! " (p. 138). As Hardy's over-all ironic attitude towards Fitzpier's transcendentalism (see Millgate, p. 253) does not seem to be at work to any significant extent in either passage, Hardy here simply

allowed a generally not very attractive character to be an authorial spokesman. That Hardy embraced the notions about Necessity and the force of circumstance in Fitzpiers's popularizations of Spinoza is beyond doubt; in fact, he specifically paid tribute to Spinoza's reflections on Necessity. Commenting, approvingly, on a letter about *The Dynasts*, Hardy wrote: "In connection with this subject [Freewill versus Necessity and Cosmic Consciousness] it may be here recalled, in answer to writers who now and later were fond of charging Hardy with postulating a malignant and fiendish God, that he never held any views of the sort, merely surmising an indifferent and unconscious force at the back of things 'that neither good nor evil knows.' His view is shown, in fact, to approximate to Spinoza's . . . that neither Chance nor purpose governs the universe but Necessity" (*Life*, p. 337).

Another positive allusion to the teachings of Spinoza appears in *Jude*. After the disaster of his marriage to Arabella, Jude turns to Spinoza for help with past and future difficulties: "Surely his plan should be to move onward through good and ill — to avoid morbid sorrow even though he did see uglinesses in the world? *Bene agere et laetari* — to do good cheerfully — which he had heard to be the philosophy of one Spinoza, might be his own even now" (p. 86). Jude's resolution turns out to be impracticable but it is not necessary to see this as an implied criticism of Spinoza's idea. So, despite the reservations that Hardy must have had as to Spinoza's extreme rationalism and religious ideas, his explicit references to him draw attention only to what he found acceptable.

For interesting notes on Spinoza and the evolution of the ideas in *The Dynasts*, see Wright, pp. 37, 48, and 51, for Spinoza and Hardy's "Our Old Friend Dualism," see Bailey, p. 606.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 234. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation and summary.

115 *Ibid.*, p. 259. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and comment.
John Liston (? 1776–1846), actor.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 281. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

117 *Ibid.*, p. 312. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and quotation.

118 *Ibid.*, p. 310. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and quotation from Lewes's description of the German romantics: "They also flattered the national tendencies when they proclaimed 'Mythology and Poetry, symbolical Legend and Art to be one and indivisible' [Lewes's footnote: F. Schlegel: *Gespräche über Poesi*, p. 263], whereby it became clear that a new Religion, or at any rate a new Mythology, was needed, for 'the greatest want and deficiency of all modern Art lies in the fact that the artists have no Mythology' " [Lewes's footnote: Ibid. p. 274]. The same passage is quoted in one of Hardy's other notebooks (see

"Textual Introduction," pp. xxxiii–xxxiv) and dated June 16, 1875, which, together with that of entry 1, is the most precise dating of Hardy's reading of any material in the "Literary Notes."

Lewes's discussion and Schlegel's ideas are directly pertinent to Hardy's own speculations on — and creation of — a mythological framework in *The Dynasts*: " 'The old theologies may or may not have worked for good in their time. But they will not bear stretching further in epic or dramatic art. The Greeks used up theirs: the Jews used up theirs: the Christians have used up theirs. So that one must make an independent plunge, embodying the real, if only temporary, thought of the age" (*Life* p. 319). Whether Hardy had Lewes or Schlegel in mind here is uncertain, but he does refer to Schlegel in the preface (1903) to *The Dynasts*, and with reference to the supernatural elements: "These phantasmal Intelligences are divided into groups, of which one only, that of the Pities, approximates to 'the Universal Sympathy of human nature — the spectator idealized' [Hardy's footnote: Schlegel] of the Greek Chorus" (Orel, p. 41).

The entry is also discussed, in an illuminating way, in Wright, pp. 90–91.

Friedrich von Schlegel (1772–1829), German poet, critic, and scholar.

119 *Ibid.*, p. 283. E. Hardy's hand. Abbreviated quotation.

120 *Ibid.*, p. 284. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

121 Unidentified. E. Hardy's hand. Christian Gottfried Ehrenberg (1795–1876), German naturalist.

122 The entry seems to be a summary and quotation, in E. Hardy's hand, from Richard A. Proctor, *Other Worlds Than Ours* (London, 1870), pp. 66–67: "Now there can be no doubt whatever, that Mercury does not reflect the same proportion of life from his surface that some of the planets do. He would be, when favourably situated, the brightest of all the planets, were this so; though seen as he always is, on the bright background of a full twilight sky, he would not make so striking an appearance as Jupiter does when in opposition." Richard Anthony Proctor (1837–1888), astronomer, was, however, a great popularizer of science and rather repetitive in his prolific writing (57 books), and Hardy may well have come across the information elsewhere, although not in Proctor's *Essays on Astronomy* (London, 1872) of which Hardy owned a copy (Wreden, item 400).

There may be a faint echo of the passage in *The Return of the Native*, as Hardy explains why Eustacia's beauty does not raise any "invidious inquiries" when she dances with Wildeve: "Had Eustacia mingled with the other girls in their ordinary daily walks the case would have been different: here she was not inconvenienced by excessive inspection, for all were wrought to their brightest

grace by the occasion. Like the planet Mercury surrounded by the lustre of sunset, her permanent brilliancy passed without much notice in the temporary glory of the situation" (p. 310).

For Hardy's probable reliance on Proctor in *Two on a Tower*, see Millgate, pp. 187 and 189.

123 The entry, in E. Hardy's hand, appears to be a summary with key words quoted from one or two passages in David Masson, *Chatterton: A Story of the Year 1770* (London, 1874). The first possibility is a letter from Chatterton to his sister: " 'I thought to have gone to bed pretty soon last night; when being half undressed, I heard a very doleful voice singing . . .'; [the letter is then partly illegible and Masson comments] but Chatterton seems to say that in the street under his window he saw, besides the singer, a fellow loitering about in bad female company. . . . He then describes a third figure who completed the picturesque street-group . . .: [this third person] 'stood still for a while, and then joined chorus in a tone which would have laid half-a-dozen lawyers, pleading for their fees, fast asleep' " (pp. 163–164). The second, and more likely, source is Masson's vivid and imaginative comment on the letter:

> As we read it we are in Brooke Street, Holborn, on a summer night more than a hundred years ago. And what do we see? A wretched, drunken woman passing from side to side in the faint light, and disturbing the deserted street with snatches of song; after a while a male costermonger, also drunk . . . and caught by the music, joining it on his own account with a stentorian bass; and meantime, standing at a corner, indifferently looking on, a hulking figure of "the dangerous class," who completes the trio. And is this all? Hist! An upper window in one of the houses . . . is thrown up, and the head and face of a young man emerge. . . . He leans out, surveys the street group far below, seems interested; and, with his face resting on his two hands, and his elbows resting on the window-sill, he remains gazing out half-an-hour or more.

There is an allusion to Chatterton in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* in the serial version [*Tinsley's Magazine*, 12 (June, 1873), 501] and in the first edition: "Stratford has her Shakespeare . . . Bristol has her Chatterton . . ." (1st. ed., III, 184). The reference was deleted for the Osgood, McIlvaine (1895) and later editions.

After the quotation from Chatterton in *The Woodlanders* (p. 208), the 'marvellous boy' is substituted in the Wessex edition for the name of the poet in the previous versions.

Hardy owned *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton*, 2 vols., the Aldine Edition of the British Poets (London, 1875). The stanza of the poem ("Aella") quoted in *The Woodlanders* is marked in the margin of vol. II, p. 38 (DCM). It is also partly transcribed by Hardy on a loose notebook sheet (DCM).

124 "Earley's High-Class Kitchen Gardening," *Sat. Rev.*, XL (July 3, 1875), 28. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key phrases quoted.

125 The entry, in E. Hardy's hand, seems to be a summary from one of the two following sources: (a) R. A. Proctor, "The Sun's Surroundings and the Coming Eclipse," *Cornhill*, XXXI (March 1875), 301: "The discovery of Neptune, for instance, would have been impossible but for the lucky accident that the disturbance experienced by Uranus reached its greatest amount at a time when observations had been continued long enough to give a stand-point whence the mathematician might throw his line out into space till the unseen planet should be felt guiding him as it were in the true direction." (b) R. A. Proctor, "The Planets put in Leverrier's Balance," *Cornhill*, XXXII (Sept. 1875), 288: "The first noteworthy result of his [Leverrier's] labours was . . . in the discovery that the system of seven great planets was incomplete [and that], another body, as yet unseen and unknown, travelling beyond the path of Uranus, and by its attraction disturbing the movements of that planet. . . ."

Urbain Jean Joseph Leverrier (1811—77), French astronomer, is referred to in *Two on a Tower*, p. 71.

126 The entry, in E. Hardy's hand, is possibly a summary from the same source as entry 122, *Other Worlds Than Ours*: "since the year of the Uranians last 84 of our years, the continuance of the sun above the horizon would last for many years. . . . An Uranian who made one set of observations to determine stellar parallax when he was, say, twenty-five years old, would have to wait till he had nearly reached the threescore years and ten (not perhaps allotted as the span of Uranian life) before he could make the corresponding set, by comparing which with the former stellar parallax was to be determined" (pp. 168—71).

127 "Money for Science," *Cornhill*, XXXII (Oct., 1875), 464. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

128 "Hallam's History," p. 56; Grieve, I, 9. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and quotation. For Burleigh, see entry 71n.

Henry Hallam (1777—1859), historian, wrote *The Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of George II.* (London, 1827).

129 "Hallam's History," p. 61; Grieve, I, 17. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation and comment.

130 "Hallam's History," pp. 62—63; Grieve, I, 19. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted. For Strafford see 161n.

131 "Hallam's History," p. 64; Grieve, I, 21. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with variations.

132 Unidentified. E. Hardy's hand.

133 "The Royal Title," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Feb. 19, 1876), 221. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with slight variations. Cf. also entry 248.

134–135 "Burleigh," p. 225; Grieve, I, 84. E. Hardy's hand. Quotations and comments.

136 "Burleigh," p. 225; Grieve, I, 85. E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation. The passage is echoed in both the serialization and the first edition of *A Laodicean* to add depth to the description of Somerset's morning in Lyons: "On awakening from a fitful sleep in the grey dawn of the next morning he looked out upon the great city of silks, the scene of some of the ghastliest atrocities, Protestant, Catholic, and Revolutionary, that the civilized world has beheld," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, II (Aug. 1881), 456. Hardy was still pleased enough with the allusion to keep it, with some emendation, in the first edition: " . . . he looked out upon the great city whose name associates silk, in the fantastic imagination, with some of the ghastliest atrocities . . ." (II, 245–46). It was deleted for the Osgood, McIlvaine (1895) and later editions.

137 "Burleigh," p. 226; Grieve, I, 86. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted.

138 Probably summarized from "Burleigh," p. 228; Grieve, I. 90; but, the same point is also made in "Hallam's History," p. 70; Grieve, I, 32. E. Hardy's hand.

139 "Burleigh," p. 232; Grieve, I, 95. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with variations.

140–44 "Burleigh," p. 235; Grieve, I, 100. E. Hardy's hand. Extracted from: "We [Macaulay] had intended to say something concerning the dexterous Walsingham, the impetuous Oxford, the graceful Sackville, the all-accomplished Sydney; concerning Essex, the ornament of the court and of the camp, the model of chivalry . . . ; concerning Raleigh, the soldier, the sailor, the scholar, the courtier, the orator, the poet, the historian, the philosopher. . . ."

145 "Ecclesiastical Intelligence," *The Guardian*, Jan. 26, 1876, p. 107. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with variations.

146 Leader, *D. News*, Monday, Jan. 10, 1876, p. 5. E. Hardy's hand. Comment with abridged quotation.

147 Same as previous entry, but in the source the material is in reverse order. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with variations.

148 This entry, in E. Hardy's hand, has not been traced to its definite source. Hardy may have come across the incongruous Christian use of Pagan things in several places. In 1876 there was a great number of articles on excavations in Italy in the *Saturday Review*, which Hardy seems to have read quite regularly at the time. He quotes from one in entry 174, which has the same heading, "Changing sides," as entry 148, and to which the note "see further on" obviously refers; "pp. 17–40" is added in pencil. The entries are not from the same source, however. Other articles on the same general subject are "Spalato," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 1, 1876), 10–11 and "Diocletian's Place in Architectural History," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 8, 1876), 40–42. Both describe the home of Diocletian (the zealous persecutor of Christians) and emphasize how his Pagan architecture came to serve Christian worship; a typical observation is: "In the bitter irony of the triumphant faith, his mausoleum has become a church, his temple has become a baptistery, the great bell-tower rises proudly over his own work" (p. 11). Neither article, however, specifically mentions the statue of Jupiter and St. Peter. The closest reference to the phenomenon that I have been able to find is in a completely different context, in *The Greville Memoirs* (see entry 344n): from a description of Greville's excursion to a church, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where he saw Michael Angelo's Christ, "a grand performance, though defective about the legs, which are too thick; he has one golden foot for the devotees, who were wearing out the marble toe, and would soon have had it as smooth as that of Jupiter's in St. Peter's: *ci-devant* Jupiter, now St. Peter" (I, 366; Strachey, Fulford, I, 462).

When in Rome, Hardy himself noted Pagan remains in Christian frameworks: "But he was on the whole more interested in Pagan than in Christian Rome, of the latter preferring churches in which he could detect columns from ancient temples" (*Life*, p. 190).

149 Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England in the Year 1641*, (Oxford, 1702–04), 1, 7; Macray, I, 7. E. Hardy's hand. Hardy's page references tally with the first edition of which he owned a copy (Hodgson, item 292). Comment and summary.

Clarendon's political bias is playfully alluded to in "Anna, Lady Baxby": "It was in the time of the great Civil War – if I should not rather, as a loyal subject, call it, with Clarendon, the Great Rebellion . . ." (*A Group of Noble Dames*, p. 167).

Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634), judge and law writer.

150 Clarendon, I, 9; Macray, I, 10. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary.

151 Clarendon, I, 9; Macray, I, 11. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted.

152 Clarendon, I, 10; Macray, I, 11. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

153 Clarendon, I, 15; Macray, I, 21. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

154 Clarendon, I, 25; Macray, I, 37. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

155 Clarendon, I, 26; Macray, I, 39. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

156 Clarendon, I, 35; Macray, I, 54. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

157 Clarendon, I, 33–36; Macray, I, 52–56. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary.

158 Clarendon, I, 87; Macray, I, 144. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

159–60 Clarendon, I, 95; Macray, I, 157. E. Hardy's hand. Comments and summaries.

161 Clarendon, I, 181–83; Macray, I, 306–10. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary.

Hardy resorts to Clarendon's observation in *The Return of the Native* to morally justify Diggory Venn's legally debatable means of frightening Wildeve away from Eustacia: "The doubtful legitimacy of such rough coercion did not disturb the mind of Venn. It troubles few such minds in such cases, and sometimes this is not to be regretted. From the impeachment of Strafford . . . there have been many triumphs of justice which are mockeries of law" (p. 321).

162 Clarendon, I, 299; Macray, I, 511. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

The "Achans" possibly refer to the distinction between races within ancient Greek society that Hardy also notes in entry 295 or to the general concept of the "Achaean League" (OCD).

163–65 "St. Patrick," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (March 25, 1876), 394. E. Hardy's hand. Summaries and quotations with variations.

166 "Max Müller's Chips from a German Workshop," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 8, 1876), 52. E. Hardy's hand. Extracted from a quote from Müller on comparative philology: " 'Language would be language still, nay, would be more truly language, if the idea of a literature, whether oral or written, had never entered men's minds; and however important the effects produced by this artificial domestication of language may be, it is clear that our ideas of what language is in a natural state, and therefore what Sanskrit and Hebrew, too, must have been before they were tamed and fixed by literary cultivation, ought not to be formed from an exclusive study of Aryan and Semitic speech.' "

Max Friedrich Maximilian Müller (1823–1900), Anglo-German orientalist and comparative philologist. Müller gave his *Lectures on the Science of Language* at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April–June 1861 (see Erik Frykman, *W.E.Aytoun, Pioneer Professor of English at Edinburgh*, Gothenburg Studies in English, no. 17 [Göteborg, 1963], p. 20). There is no evidence that Hardy attended these, but, as Millgate implies, Hardy's interest in folklore and myth may owe something to Müller; see "Hardy's Fiction: Some Comments on the Present State of Criticism, *ELT*, 14 (1971), 233.

167 John Addington Symonds, "Aeschylus," *Cornhill*, XXXIII (Jan, 1876), 28. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with variations from Symonds's discussion of Aeschylus in terms of the "artistic psychology" of Plato: "He [Plato] wishes to distinguish between the mental operations of the poet and the philosopher, to show that the regions of poetry and science are separate, and to prove that rule and method are less sure guides than instinct when the work to be produced is a poem. . . . The final dictum of the *Ion* is, 'inspiration, not art'. . . . It is curious to find a Greek of the best age, himself in early days a poet, and throughout distinguished by genius allied to the poetic, thus boldly and roundly stating a theory which corresponds to the vulgar notion that poetry comes by nature, untutored and untaught . . . ." Hardy's own "literary" studies – some reflected in the "Literary Notes" – implicitly suggest that he shared Symonds's reservations about Plato's artistic psychology. In 1897, in fact, Hardy also explicitly disagreed with Plato's notion, at least as it was rendered in English: " 'Somebody says that the final dictum of the *Ion* of Plato is 'inspiration, not art. The passage is *θεῖον καὶ μὴ τεχνικόν*. And what is really meant by it is, I think, more clearly expressed by the words "inspiration, not technicality" – "art" being too comprehensive in English to use here' " (*Life*, p. 285). Cf. also: " 'Poetry is emotion put into measure. The emotion must come by nature, but the measure can be acquired by art' " (*Life*, p. 300). In addition, see Hardy's almost indignant refutation of the "popular impression" of William Barnes as "the naif and rude bard who sings only because he must . . ." (Orel, p. 80). Evidence of Hardy's careful study of Barnes is found in several stylistic excerpts from the older poet in the "Studies, Specimens &c" Notebook.

For an analysis of Hardy's over-all response to Barnes, see Paul Zietlow, "Thomas Hardy and William Barnes: Two Dorset Poets," *PMLA*, LXXXIV (March 1969), 291–303.

Hardy later came to know the author John Addington Symonds (1840–1893) personally, and some of their correspondence is preserved. Judging from a number of entries from Symonds (see Index), Hardy seems to have valued Symonds's critical insight, and quotes from him as an authority in "The Profitable Reading of Fiction" (Orel, p. 114; see entry 1148n).

168 *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29. E. Hardy's hand. Summary. In his disagreement with Plato's "artistic psychology" (see previous entry), Symonds distinguishes between two types of artists: "the one kind produce their best work when all their faculties are simultaneously excited. . . . The other kind are always conscious of their methods and their aims. . . . It may be said in passing, that this distinction enables us to understand some phrases which the Italians, acutely sensitive to artistic conditions, have reserved for the passionate and highly inspired workers; they speak, for instance, of painting a picture or blocking out a statue *con furia*. . . ."

169 *Ibid.*, p. 29. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

In "The Profitable Reading of Fiction" Hardy unmistakably indicated that, in addition to Shakespeare, Greek drama in general, and Aeschylus in particular, is the principal source for his aesthetic as well as moral criteria in literary art: "Good fiction may be defined here as that kind of imaginative writing which lies nearest to the epic, dramatic, or narrative masterpieces of the past. . . . The higher passions must ever rank above the inferior – intellectual tendencies above animal, and moral above intellectual. . . . Any system of inversion which should attach more importance to the delineation of man's appetites than to the delineation of his aspirations, affections, or humours, would condemn the old masters of imaginative creation from Aeschylus to Shakespeare" (Orel, p. 114). Hardy did not attempt any such inversion, and there is no doubt that what he sought in his own drama in verse form, *The Dynasts*, "was Aeschylean success with matter of the broadest philosophical generality," or that one of the scales "against which Hardy was prompted to measure his art" in fiction was that established by Greek drama (Stewart, pp. 216 and 128). It is remarkable, in fact, how conspicuously Hardy resorted to the Greek dramatists in his work. At crucial moments in some of his best novels he unabashedly attempted to accentuate the tragic import by evoking the masters of the past, especially Aeschylus. In *Tess*, for instance, he closed the course of events by "the President of the Immortals" paragraph. In *Jude* he tried to elevate the gruesome death of the children – and to foreshadow the remaining tragic elements of the plot – by

quoting the chorus in *Agamemnon:* "Things are as they are, and will be brought to their destined issue" (p. 409).

Naturally, there are many considerations of Aeschylus in Hardy scholarship. See especially Courtney, pp. 1–30; Duane D. Edwards, "*The Mayor of Casterbridge* as Aeschylean Tragedy," *Studies in the Novel*, 4 (1972), 608–18; Evelyn Hardy, pp. 205, 228–229; Miller, pp. 104–105; Millgate, pp. 131, 324; Pinion, pp. 146–147, 205; Stewart, pp. 93, 100, 112, 119, 128, 216; Weber, pp. 181–182, 201, 243; Wright, pp. 6–10; 67–68; and, Apollo Valakis, "The Moira of Aeschylus and the Immanent Will of Thomas Hardy," *Classical Journal*, XXI (March, 1926), 431–442. The most significant contribution to date, however, is by Rutland, who had the privilege of examining Hardy's own copies of the classics before they were removed from the Max Gate library. Among Rutland's many valuable observations, the following deserve particular attention: (a) in the margin of his own text of *Agamemnon* Hardy marked the refrain of the chorus: "Sorrow, sing sorrow But good prevail, prevail! " (Gilbert Murray's translation; Rutland, p. 36). Rutland points out how Hardy used the item artistically to convey his "meliorist" theme in the last stanza of "Compassion" (1924). One may add that Hardy also incorporated the passage in one of his "critical" essays, where it emphasizes his own moral aestheticism (see "Critical Introduction," pp. xxi–xxiii and xxvi–xxvii): "All really true literature directly or indirectly sounds as its [sic] refrain the words in the *Agamemnon:* "Chant Aelinon, Aelinon! but may the good prevail" (Orel, p. 131).

(b) Hardy annotated two lines at the end of the second stasimon of *Agamemnon:* "The fire of good tidings it hath sped the city through, / But who knows if a god mocketh? Or who knows if all be true?" (G. Murray's version, Rutland, p. 37). Hardy's translation/annotation reads: " 'Who knows if it be true, or some delusion of the gods?'," and it appears, re-phrased, in the afterscene of *The Dynasts:*

> As once a Greek asked I would fain ask too,
> Who knows if all the spectacle be true,
> or an illusion of the gods (the Will
> to wit) same hocus-pocus to fulfil?

These lines show, Rutland argues, p. 38, that Hardy misinterpreted Aeschylus who did not conceive of the world as an illusion. Whether this is true or not, Hardy's notion seems to be related to his view of reality – if this is adequately summarized in his observation in *Tess* – that "the world is only a psychological phenomenon" (p. 108) and in his quotation "the world is only a cerebral phenomenon" (entry A174). See also entry 1215.

170 *Ibid.*, p. 33. E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation.

There is a possible echo of the entry in *The Hand of Ethelberta*, when

Christopher pretends to embrace a similar view: "I have come to the conclusion that a woman's affection is not worth having. The only feeling which has any dignity or permanence or worth is family affection between close blood-relations" (p. 158).

171 Unidentified. E. Hardy's hand.

172 The entry, in E. Hardy's hand, is possibly based on "The Old Masters at the Royal Academy," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 15, 1876), 78: the article mentions Titian's last picture " 'the Pietà,' now in the Academy of Venice, left unfinished when Titian died of the plague in his ninety-ninth year." See also entry 196n.

173 Unidentified. E. Hardy's hand.

174 "Salona," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 15, 1876), 74. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and quotation with variations. See also entry 148n.

"Cains" should be Caius (or Gaius), who was pope from 283 to 296.

175 George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, abridged by A. Jamieson (London, 1823), p. 23. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations. *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* was originally published in 2 vols. (London, 1776), but Hardy owned a copy of the 11th ed. (1841) of the abridged version; Wreden, item 12, describes it: "Signed by Hardy on flyleaf. Hardy read this book carefully and it probably had some influence on his work by the copious notes throughout the text and on the last two blank leaves." Hardy seeks help from Campbell's book, "that venerable work," in his well-known explanation of his use of the term "the President of the Immortals" in *Tess* (*Life*, p. 244).

Juvenal is not mentioned in Hardy's account of his reading in the *Life*, but there are several references to Horace. There are also many more allusions to Horace than to Juvenal in Hardy's creative works; the early occurrences are identified and commented on in Marlene Ann Springer's interesting "Allusion in Thomas Hardy's Early Novels: A Stylistic Study," Diss. Indiana Univ. 1970, which covers the first six novels. See also Pinion, p. 207. Of Hardy's later uses of Horace in his fiction, the most significant may be Angel's unintentionally ironic quotation of the "integer vitae" passage (*Odes*, I, 22, 1) as he is about to reveal his one moral lapse and be told of Tess's illegitimate child in the evening after their wedding (*Tess*, p. 286).

Hardy owned *Thoughts from Latin Authors*, n.d., which is a 3 vol. reprint of *Beautiful Thoughts from Latin Authors*, with English translations and a Latin Index by Crauford Tait Ramage, (Liverpool, 1864). Only vols. II and III are now in the Memorial Library, DCM. The fly-leaf of vol. II is signed "T. Hardy" and

the fly-leaf of vol. III, "T Hardy – 1964." The "integer vitae" is found in vol. I, p. 80, but the English translation is different from the one in *Tess*.

176 "Collaboration," *The Graphic*, 13 (Jan. 29, 1876), 114. E. Hardy's hand. Hardy summarizes from the article's argumentation in favour of collaboration. On Hardy's own literary collaboration, see Purdy, pp. 344–48.

177 "Letters of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 22, 1876), 111. E. Hardy's hand. Hardy comments on, and summarizes from, a review of *Letters of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough* (London, 1875).

178–179 *Ibid.*, pp. 111–12. E. Hardy's hand. Summaries, with key words quoted.

180 *Ibid.*, p. 112. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.
For the character of Atossa in Pope's "Of the Characters of Women: An Epistle to a Lady," see *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, The Twickenham Edition (London, 1951), III:ii, 39–42, 155–64.

181–185 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summaries with key words quoted.

186 "Fisher's History of Landholding in England," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 22, 1876), 116. E. Hardy's hand. Summarized from a very negative review of J. Fisher's *The History of Landholding in England* (London, 1876). The story Hardy notes is sarcastically given as an example of the kind of tales Fisher believes in as historical evidence.

187 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted. In the source this material precedes that of the previous entry.

188 "Le Dernier des Napoléon," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 22, 1876), 118. E. Hardy's hand. Comment on, and abridged quotation from, a negative review of *Le Dernier des Napoléon*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1875), a book highly critical of Napoleon III. See also entry 199.

189 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

190 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted.

191–192 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summaries with key words quoted, but with no reflection of the reviewer's disagreeing tone: "The Court of the Tuileries is described with the utmost severity as a scene of vulgar extravagance

and dubious society; nor does the author spare the Empress, blaming the absence of severity in language and manner which was really one of her womanly charms. . . . The writer is evidently as hostile to the Empress as a gentleman can permit himself to be towards a lady. Speaking of the opening of the Suez Canal, he is very hard upon the Empress for riding upon a donkey, and for trying the experiment of mounting a dromedary."

193 *Ibid.*, p. 193. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted.

194–195 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summaries with key words quoted: "The great defect of Louis Napoleon's mind appears to have been that he would go far enough on a line of action to incur the cost of it, but not far enough to reap the full benefit of it for his country. His policy was rather that of a private schemer than of a patriot acting for the country which he represented, and this may have been due to the fact that he never really took root in the country, and never could feel himself secure on his own throne. He had too many home anxieties for a sound foreign policy."

196 "The Royal Academy: Pictures by the Old Masters," *D. News*, Jan. 29, 1876, p. 2. E. Hardy's hand. Summary. See also entries 172n and 199n.

197 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summary.
The Actress Lavinia Fenton (1708–1760) played Polly Peachum in Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* in 1728. She became the wife of Charles Paulet, third Duke of Bolton (1685–1754), in 1751.

When Eustacia plays the role of the Turkish Knight in the play of "Saint George," her situation is light-heartedly contrasted with that of Lavinia Fenton: "Women have done much for themselves in histrionic dress. To look far below those who, like a certain fair personator of Polly Peachum early in the last century . . . have won not only love but ducal coronets into the bargain, whole shoals of them have reached to the initial satisfaction of getting love almost whence they would. But the Turkish Knight was denied even the chance of achieving this by the fluttering ribbons which she dared not brush aside" (*The Return of the Native*, p. 169).

198 "Cretan Embroideries at South Kensington," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 22, 1876), 110. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

199 "Le Dernier des Napoléon," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (Jan. 22, 1876), 193. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted. See also entries 188–95.

200 Quatremere De Quincy, *History of the Life and Works of Raffaello*, in R. Duppa and Q. De Quincy, *The Lives and Works of Michael Angelo and Raphael*, trans. William Hazlitt (London, 1846; rpt. Bohn's Illustrated Library, 1856; same pagination), p. 193. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted.

Hardy's great interest in painting is amply documented in his works (including the *Life*), and his "Schools of Painting" Notebook (DCM). For studies on the influence of painting on Hardy's literary art, see especially Richard C. Carpenter, "Thomas Hardy and the Old Masters," *Boston University Studies in English*, V (1961), 18–28; Lloyd Fernando, "Thomas Hardy's Rhetoric of Painting," *REL*, VI (1965), 62–73; Millgate, pp. 68, 254–55; Norman Page, "Hardy's Pictorial Art in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*," *EA*, 25 (Oct.–Dec. 1972), 486–92; Alastair Smart, "Pictorial Imagery in the Novels of Thomas Hardy," *RES*, XII (1961), 262–80; Stewart, p. 57.

201 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation.

202 *Ibid.*, p. 194. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and abridged quotation.

203 *Ibid.*, p. 195. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted.

204 *Ibid.*, p. 199. E. Hardy's hand. Summarized from De Quincy's discussion of one of the first compositions attributed to Raffaello: "Those . . . who had the good fortune to see both the original and the copy of it by Raffaello, were of opinion that in the latter there was to be admired, besides the features wherein the pupil did homage to the master, a superiority in the execution, in the manner of painting, which left Perugino far behind." See also next entry and note.

Hardy avails himself of the passage in *The Return of the Native*, as he stretches his imagination to compare Eustacia's superiority over Charley in reciting to Raffaello's improvement of his master's art: "Eustacia had occasionally heard the part recited before. When the lad ended she began, precisely in the same words, and ranted on without hitch or divergence till she too reached the end. It was the same thing, yet how different. Like in form, it had the added softness and finish of a Raffaelle after Perugino, which, while faithfully reproducing the original subject, entirely distances the original art" (p. 147).

205 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Summary. It is Raffaello's copy of this picture that is discussed in the previous entry.

206 *Ibid.*, p. 201. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted.
Pinturicchio, Pintoricchio (Bernardino di Betto, c. 1454–1513), Italian painter.

207 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation.

208 *Ibid.*, p. 204. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary. What Hardy considered "a charming letter" reads:

> Magnificent and most excellent lord, — He who presents this letter is Raffaello, a painter of Urbino, who, having a good genius in his art, is desirous to improve himself in Florence; and as I know his father, who is dear to me, to be a virtuous man, and his son a discreet and gentle youth, I have every reason to esteem him in the highest degree; and am desirous that his genius should be matured to perfection. I therefore most earnestly recommend him to your lordship, and, for my sake, intreat you to give him all the assistance in your power. Every attention and favour that your lordship may bestow upon him will be considered as to myself, and shall be most gratefully acknowledged.
>
> Johanna Feltria Di Rovera.

209 *Ibid.*, p. 212. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key words quoted.

210 *Ibid.*, p. 213. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

211 *Ibid.*, pp. 214–215. E. Hardy's hand. Summary with key phrases quoted.

212–213 *Ibid.*, p. 215. E. Hardy's hand. Summaries with key words quoted.

214 *Ibid.*, p. 216. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with a slight variation.

215 *Ibid.*, p. 234. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.
In his own copy of William W. Lloyd's "The Life of W. Shakespeare," (see entry 253n), Hardy marked a comparison between the two painters: "This is the very combination of gentleness with force that decides the superiority of Raphael to Michael Angelo" (p. cii). See also entry 222.

216 *Ibid.*, p. 216. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

217 *Ibid.*, p. 218. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary.

218 *Ibid.*, p. 229. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary.

219 *Ibid.*, p. 235. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary.

220 *Ibid.*, p. 237. E. Hardy's hand. A possibly slanted summary of: "Who, in the present day, in . . . [looking at] the gigantic Sibyls and Prophets of Michel Angelo, would not be struck by the *supernatural* conception, if we may so call it, and with the forms of those persons, traced without a model by a genius so original, which, having nowhere met with objects for imitation, has never yet found worthy imitators."

221 *Ibid.*, p. 243. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and quotation.

222 *Ibid.*, p. 244. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and quotation. See also entry 215n.

223 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation and comment.

224 *Ibid.*, pp. 245–246. As E. Hardy copied this, she misquoted "both" for "look". Summary.

Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), Italian artist and architect; wrote *Le Vite de piu eccelenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri,* etc (Florence, 1550); trans. *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects.*

225 *Ibid.*, p. 249. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

226 *Ibid.*, p. 251. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

227 *Ibid.*, p. 259n. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

228 *Ibid.*, pp. 262–263. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

229 *Ibid.*, p. 266. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

230 *Ibid.*, p. 270. E. Hardy's hand. Comment, summary, and quotation with variations.

Francesco Raibolini Francia (c. 1460–1517), Italian painter.

231 *Ibid.*, p. 271. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary.

232 *Ibid.*, p. 273. E. Hardy's hand. Summarized from a passage that seems relevant to Hardy's many observations on the relationship of art and reality and his anti-realistic aesthetics (briefly discussed in the "Critical Introduction," pp. xxi ff.):

> Raffaello must be allowed to have fixed in this class of painting [his pictures of the holy Virgin], according to the various points of view presented by the subject, that which we call *the ideal.*
>
> The Ideal does not here mean that which people are accustomed exclusively to attach to the term; that is to say, the beautiful, *par excellence.* Each class of object or subject, in the wide range of imitation, has its ideal; that is to say, its character generalized, and brought, by the genius of art, to the idea or distinct image, which becomes, at one and the same time, for the imagination, its type; for the mind, its definition; for the eye, its copy.

233 *Ibid.*, p. 306. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

234 *Ibid.*, p. 307. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary. The collaboration refers to the portrait of Joanna of Arragon, see previous entry.

235 *Ibid.*, p. 318–320n. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

236 *Ibid.*, p. 320. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary.

237 *Ibid.*, p. 322–328. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

238 *Ibid.*, p. 344. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

239 *Ibid.*, pp. 345–346. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.
Agostini Chigi (c. 1465–1520), Italian merchant and patron of the arts. The Villa Farnesina in Rome was designed by Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536).

240–241 *Ibid.*, pp. 351–352. E. Hardy's hand. Summaries.

242 *Ibid.*, p. 253. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

243 *Ibid.*, p. 359. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

244 The source is obviously Fénelon's *The Adventures of Telemachus* (1699), Book I, 11. 279–280, but the exact edition is unidentified. A prose translation by Dr. Hawkesworth (London, 1841), p. 8, has: "the birth of Bacchus, and his education under old Silenus." Another prose translation by James Rice (London, 1883) reads: "the birth of Bacchus, and his education directed by the old Silenus" (p. 7). E. Hardy's hand.

245 The entry, in E. Hardy's hand, is possibly based on the opening paragraph of Balzac's "Peace in the House," but the exact edition Hardy used is

unidentified. In *La Grande Bretêche and other Stories*, trans. Clara Bell, (London, 1896) the first lines of the short story read: "The incident in this sketch took place towards the end of the month of November 1809, the moment when Napoleon's fugitive empire attained the apogees of its splendour" (p. 80). Hodgson (item 276) lists a set of Balzac's *Ouevres Complètes*, 20 vols. (1877), with Hardy's signature in vol. 1, and it is possible, of course, that the entries from Balzac are Hardy's own translations. See, for instance, entry 1092.

Honoré de Balzac is not mentioned in the *Life*, but Hardy lists him among his favourite French authors (Orel, p. 140), and he partly defends him against Henry James's observations in entry 1117.

There is a possible allusion to Balzac's "Une Femme de trente ans" in *The Woodlanders* to suggest the amorous experiences and arts of Mrs. Charmond, "the typical *femme de trente ans*" (p. 278).

246 "Life and Correspondence of General Burgoyne," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (March 18, 1876), 369. E. Hardy's hand. Comment on, and abridged quotation from, a review of E. B. De Foublanque, *Political and Military Episodes in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century. Derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, General Statesman, Dramatist* (London, 1876).

247 *Ibid.*, p. 370. E. Hardy's hand. Comment and summary. The comparison to Wellington and Waterloo is Hardy's own.

248 Leader, *The Times*, March 24, 1876, p. 9. Part summary, part quotation from an account of Disraeli's argumentation in a debate on "The Royal Titles Bill" in the House of Commons: "The Bill is now put forward as the first step of a new policy of coping with the advance of the Russian power in Asia. . . . Russia has conquered Tartary, whence, from the dawn of history whether of the East or of the West, the hordes have emerged which have conquered the World." The adoption of the title of "Empress" would make clear that England intended to uphold the "Empire of India." Cf. also entry 133.

249 "Old Derby China," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (March 25, 1876), 409. E. Hardy's hand. Comment on, and paraphrase of, a review of J. Haslem, *The Old Derby China Factory; the Workmen and their Productions* (London, n.d.).

250 Clarendon, II, 103; Macray, II, 458. Comment and quotation with slight variation.

Sidney Godolphin (1610–43), poet; friend of Clarendon.

251 Clarendon, II, 112; Macray, II, 472. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

252 Clarendon, II, 152; Macray, II, 529–30. Comment and abridged quotation.

Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl of Southampton (1607–67).

253–56 It would seem that these entries do not derive directly from Hardy's reading of the play. They appear to be comments or summaries, possibly based on William W. Lloyd, "Critical Essay on King Lear," *The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. Samuel Weller Singer (London, 1856), IX, 517–32. Hardy's own copy of this 10 vols. ed. is in the Memorial Collection (DCM). Textually, entry 255 is close to Lloyd's phraseology: "Kent is as blunt and plain spoken as Cordelia" (p. 524). See also entry 215n.

For an example of Hardy's direct comments on the play, see the *Life*, p. 282.

257 Honoré de Balzac, "La Paix du menage"; the exact edition Hardy used is unidentified (see entry 245n). The note is based on a passing piece of information which has no relevance to the plot of the story: "When the movement of a new figure, invented by a dancer named Trénis, and named after him, brought . . ." (*La Grande Bretêche and other Stories*, trans. Clara Bell, London, 1896, p. 116).

258 "The Manor of Tyburn," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (April 8, 1876), 456. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

259–261 Honoré de Balzac, "The Imaginary Mistress"; the exact edition Hardy used is unidentified (see entry 245n). In the story a French heiress marries a Polish refugee in Paris, and the entries are deduced from Balzac's description of the fate of Poles in Paris:

> People affected to regard the Poles as allies of the Republican party, forgetting that Poland was an aristocratic republic. Thenceforth the party of wealth poured ignoble contempt on the Pole, who had been deified but a few days since. The wind of a riot has always blown the Parisians round from north to south under every form of government. This weathercock temper of Paris opinion must be remembered if we would understand how, in 1835, the name of Pole was a word of ridicule among the race who believe themselves to be the wittiest and politest in the world, and its central luminary, in a city which, at this day, wields the sceptre of art and literature.
>
> There are, alas! two types of Polish refugees — the republican Pole, the son of Lelewel, and the noble Pole, of the party led by Prince Czartoryski. . . . Are not such divisions always to be observed among refugees whatever nation they belong to, and no matter what country they go to? . . . In this lies the reason of the attacks made on the venerable Prince Adam Czartoryski by the French radicals, and that of the disapproval shown to a section of the Polish

> emigrants by the Caesars of the counter and the Alexanders by letters patent.
>
> (*La Grande Bretêche* [see entry 257n], pp. 124–125)

Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770–1861), exile in Paris from 1831. Joachim Lelewel (1786–1861), Polish historian and geographer; left-wing politician and exile in Paris 1831 but later expelled.

For Hardy's awareness of radical social ideas see also entries 1 and 1294–1296 and my forthcoming *Psychological Vision and Social Criticism in the Novels of Thomas Hardy.*

262 *Op. cit.* The exact edition Hardy used is unidentified. In Clara Bell's translation (see entry 257n) the passage reads: "If ever the truth that architecture is the expression of the manners of a race was fully demonstrated, is it not since the revolution of 1830, under the reign of the House of Orleans? Great fortunes have shrunk in France, and the majestic mansions of our fathers are constantly being demolished and replaced by a sort of tenement houses, in which a peer of France of July dwells on the third floor, over some newly-enriched empiric. Styles are mingled in confusion. . . . architecture has never found more economical tricks for imitating what is genuine and thorough, never displayed more ingenuity and resource in arrangement" (p. 128).

On the various functions of architecture in Hardy's works, see C. J. P. Beatty, "The Part Played by Architecture in the Life and Works of Thomas Hardy," Diss. London Univ. 1963 and Beatty's introduction to his edition *The Architectural Notebook of Thomas Hardy* (Dorchester, Dorset, 1966). Millgate justifiably emphasizes Hardy's "conscious attempt to use architecture as a thematic element, almost as a measure or standard of morality" (p. 113).

For Hardy's own explicit statement of his awareness of a "parallel" between the arts of architecture and poetry, see *Life*, p. 301.

263–268 *The Works of Virgil* by John Dryden, with Walsh's Life of the Author (London, n.d.), pp. 3–4. Extracted from the opening paragraph in which Walsh enumerates a number of similarities in the lives of Homer and Virgil:

> And so near a resemblance there is betwixt the lives of these two famous epic writers, that Virgil seems to have followed the fortune of the other, as well as the subject and manner of his writing. For Homer is said to have been of very mean parents, such as got their bread by day-labour; so is Virgil. Homer is said to be base-born; so is Virgil. The former to have been born in the open air, in a ditch, or by the bank of a river; so is the latter. There was a poplar planted near the place of Virgil's birth, which suddenly grew up to an unusual height and bulk, and to which the superstitious neighbourhood attributed marvellous virtue. Homer had his poplar too, as Herodotus relates, which was visited with great veneration. Homer is

> described by one of the ancients to have been of a slovenly and neglected mien and habit; so was Virgil. Both were of a very delicate and sickly constitution; both addicted to travel, and the study of astrology: both had their compositions usurped by others: both were envied and traduced during their lives. We know not so much as the true names of either of them with any exactness.

The section for 1848 in the *Life* mentions that "about this time his mother gave him Dryden's Virgil . . ." (p. 16). On the fly-leaf of his copy (DCM) is written: "Thomas Hardy the gift of his mother."

There are several references to Virgil and Homer in Hardy's writing; a convenient list is given by Pinion, pp. 209, 207. In addition to this there are two allusions to Virgil in *Jude* (pp. 34 and 493), the latter drawing attention to the "old, superseded Delphin editions of Virgil and Horace" to help to epitomize, against the sad background of his death-bed, Jude's futile educational ambitions. There is also the interesting reference in the prefatory note to William Barnes, suggesting that Hardy studied his Virgil carefully: "The speech of his [Barnes's] ploughmen and milkmaids in his *Eclogues* — his own adopted name for these pieces — is as sound in its syntax as that of the Tityrus and Meliboeus of Virgil whom he had in mind . . ." (Orel, p. 84).

As to Hardy's own conscious use of Virgil, see Millgate (esp. p. 92) who points to Hardy's deliberate pastoralism, supported by Virgilian allusions. Miller (p. 248–49) illuminates the relevance of the epitaph "Veteris vestigia flammae" (*The Aeneid*, IV, 23) to the "Poems of 1912–1913."

In addition to Pinion's list there are allusions to Homer in *Two on a Tower* (p. 257; see 545n); in a review of Barnes, attributed to Hardy, in which Homer's "inequality of power" is noted (Orel, p. 96); in *The Return of the Native*, "Homer's Cimmerian land" (p. 60), and "Possibly Clym's fame, like Homer's, owed something to the accidents of his situation" (p. 199). For a possible echo from Mahaffy's exposition of Homer in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, see entry 513n.

Rutland (pp. 21–22) was the first to point out how Jude's detailed account of his reading in *The Iliad* corresponds to the list Hardy made on the inside cover of his own copy of Clarke's Homer (inscribed "Thomas Hardy 1858") — the same edition Jude "dabbled" in (p. 36) — and how this list probably indicates Hardy's own preferences.

In addition to Pinion's list (p. 203) of allusions to John Dryden, references can be found also in *The Return of the Native* (p.272), *A Laodicean* (p. 63), and in a speech for "The Society of Dorset Men in London," (Orel, p. 223); in all three instances Hardy quotes from "Absalom and Achitophel"; Ethelberta's financial difficulties remind Hardy of Dryden's similar problems: she must marry, "otherwise perhaps the poetess may live to become what Dryden called himself when he got old and poor — a rent-charge on Providence" (*The Hand of*

Ethelberta, p. 183). For the final Dryden reference, see "To my Dear Friend Mr. Congreve, On His Comedy, call'd The Double-Dealer," l. 69.

269–270 *Ibid.*, p. 4. Extracted from Walsh's observations on Virgil's diligence:

> [Virgil] . . . prosecuted his studies with great application: he read over all the best Latin and Greek authors; for which he had convenience by the no remote distance of Marseilles, that famous Greek colony, which maintained its politeness and purity of language, in the midst of all these barbarous nations amongst which it was seated. . . . He frequented the most eminent professors of the Epicurean philosophy, which was then much in vogue, and will be always in declining and sickly states.

Eustacia, in *The Return of the Native*, is attributed with an "epicurean heart" (p. 117); the context, however, does not attach any stringent criticism to the term. Eustacia is seen as a typical human being (in Darwin's universe): "The sentiment which lurks more or less in all animate nature — that of not desiring the undesired of others — was lively as a passion in the supersubtle, epicurean heart of Eustacia" (pp. 116–17).

271 *Ibid.*, p. 6. Comment and summary.

272 *Loc. cit.* Summary. The comparison to Shelley is Hardy's own.

273 *Ibid.*, p. 7. Comment and summary.

274 *Ibid.*, p. 8. Comment and quotation with slight variations.
A faint echo may be discerned in *The Return of the Native*: "That Royal port and watering-place [Budmouth], if truly mirrored in the minds of the heath-folk, must have combined, in a charming and indescribable manner, a Carthaginian bustle of building with Tarentine luxuriousness and Baian health and beauty" (p. 108).

275 *Loc. cit.* Summary and quotation with variations.

276–77 *Ibid.*, p. 11. Comments and summaries.

278 *Ibid.*, p. 14. Comment and summary.

279 *Ibid.*, 14–15. Comment and quotation with variations.

280 *Ibid.*, p. 16. Comment and summary. Cromwell is alluded to in *The Hand of Ethelberta*, p. 216.

281 *Ibid.*, p. 17. Comment and summary.

282 *Ibid.*, p. 19. Summary. Achates, the faithful companion of Aeneas, is ironically alluded to in *A Laodicean*: ". . . Captain de Stancy and his Achates [Dare, the unfaithful son] were approaching the castle . . ." (p. 233).

283 *Loc. cit.* Comment and quotation with slight variations.

284 *Ibid.*, p. 20. Summary.

285 *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21. Summary and comment.

286 *Ibid.*, p. 22. Summarized from Walsh's exposition of Virgil's negative attitude towards women in his works.

287 *Ibid.*, p. 23. Summarized from another example of Virgil's hostility towards women.

288 *Ibid.*, p. 22. Walsh points to Virgil's aversion to Helen: "He is so far from passing such a compliment upon Helen, as the grave old counsellor in Homer does, after nine years' war, when upon the sight of her, he breaks out into this rapture in the presence of king Priam:

> None can the cause of these long wars despise
> The cost bears no proportion to the prize:
> Majestic charms in ev'ry feature shine;
> Her air, her port, her accent is divine.

Hardy, that is, quotes the second line from the passage in Homer.

289 *Ibid.*, p. 26. Summary and quotation with slight variations.

290–297 Despite extensive search in a great number of histories of Greece, the source for these entries remains unidentified. Hardy's own William Smith *The Student's Greece: History of Greece*, New Ed. (London, 1877), now in the Purdy Collection, is not the source. Entries 295–97 are originally in pencil, but re-written in ink.

298 Matthew Arnold, "Bishop Butler and the Zeit-Geist" (Part I), *Cont. Rev.* XXVII (Feb. 1876), 382; Super, VIII, 17. Comment and quotation. see also entry 7n.

299 *Op. cit.*, p. 383; Super, VIII, 19. Comment and summary, with the final sentence quoted.

300 *Op. cit.*, p. 393; Super, VIII, 32. E. Hardy's hand. Butler called "our nature 'the voice of God within us' " and was, naturally, opposed to the view Hardy summarizes from Arnold's description.

301 *Op. cit.*, p. 395; Super, VIII, 34. E. Hardy's hand. Hardy quotes from a passage in which Butler argues that certain natural human affections which seem to create difficulties are in fact purposely and benevolently given to man:

> As God Almighty foresaw the irregularities and disorders, both natural and moral, which would happen . . . he hath graciously made some provisions against them, by giving us several passions and affections, which arise from, or whose objects are, those disorders. Of this sort are fear, resentment, compassion, and others, of which there could be no occasion or use in a perfect state, but in the present we should be exposed to greater inconveniences without them, though there are very considerable ones which they themselves are the occasions of.

Hardy is likely to have agreed with Arnold's dismissal of this as "not physiology, but fanciful hypothesis" (Super, p. 35). Cf. Hardy's own indictment: "The emotions have no place in a world of defect, and it is a cruel injustice that they should have developed in it" (*Life*, p. 149).

302 Robert Charles Caldwell, "Demonolatry, Devil-Dancing, and Demoniacal Possession," *Cont. Rev.*, XXVII (Feb., 1876), 376. Comment and summary with quotation.

303 "The Indian Mutiny," *The Times*, April 12, 1876, p. 5. Summary from a review of J. W. Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857, 1858*, vols. II–III (London, 1874–76). See also entry 91n.

304 Leader, *The Times*, April 18, 1876, p. 7. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variation.

The embarrassment at another change of ministries is noted in entry 410.

305 W. H. Pater, "The Myth of Demeter and Persephone: II," *Fort. Rev.*, CIX (Jan. 1, 1876), 263. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

There is very little evidence of what Hardy read by Pater, but he started meeting Pater socially in the 1880's, despite the initially unfavourable impression of Pater's manner, which to Hardy seemed to be " 'that of one carrying weighty ideas without spilling them' " (*Life*, p. 180; see also pp. 209, 212). DeLaura (pp. 382–83) notes the possible influence of Pater on Hardy's conception of Eustacia and Clym in *The Return of the Native.*

306 "Life of Charles Richard Sumner, D.D., Bishop of Winchester. By the Rev. G. H. Sumner, M. A. (Murray)," *The Athenaeum*, April 15, 1876, p. 527. In pencil, re-written in ink, the entry is possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Comment and abridged quotation with parenthetical annotations.

The reviewer takes a sceptical attitude towards the powers attributed to Sumner by the biographer, and the entry reflects the general tone of the review. Hardy quotes another negative mention of the book in entries 345–46. In the MS. and early editions of *The Return of the Native*, Sumner was used to illustrate human mediocrity: "Was Yeobright's mind well-proportioned? No. A well-proportioned mind is one which shows no particular bias; . . . Its usual blessings are happiness and mediocrity. It produces the . . . spiritual guidance of Sumner" (f. 201). Tomline was substituted for Sumner in the Wessex Edition (p. 204). Charles Richard Sumner (1790–1874) succeeded Sir George Pretyman Tomline (1750–1827) as bishop of Winchester.

307 Aeschylus, *Prometheus, The Tragedies of Aeschylus*, trans. T. A. Buckley (Bohn's Classical Library, London, 1849), p. 6n. In pencil, re-written in ink, the entry is possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Extracted from a footnote to Prometheus's exclamation: "Hah! what sound, what ineffable odour hath been wafted to me, emanating from a god, or from mortal, or of some intermediate nature? " (p. 6). The footnote reads: "On the preternatural scent supposed to attend the presence of a deity, cf. Eur. Hippol. 1391, with Monk's note, Virg. Aen. I, 403, and La Cerda."

Hardy's own copy of this edition is now in the Colby College Library, Waterville, Maine, U.S.A. It is described in the Grolier Club *Catalogue:* The half-title is "initialled 'T. H.' in an early hand, the title-page being missing. The Max Gate booklabel is present.

Again with many markings, notes and Greek phrases, especially in 'Agamemnon' and 'Prometheus Chained' " (p. 3).

On Hardy and Aeschylus see also 169n, and for the potential signficance of Hardy's reading of *Prometheus* in 1876 to his writing of *The Return of the Native*, see my " 'Visible Essences' as Thematic Structure in Hardy's *The Return of the Native*," esp. pp. 57–59.

308 "The Great Divide," *The Times*, April 20, 1876, p. 4. Originally in pencil, written over in ink, the entry is possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with variations from a review of *"The Great Divide." Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874*, by the Earl of Dunraven (London, 1876).

309 Iron, "The Black Sea and the Caspian," *The Times*, April 21, 1876, p. 11. In pencil, re-written in ink, the entry is possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Summarized from the writer's account of past achievements in marine engineering and future

"more gigantic schemes" such as to lead water from the Mediterranean into the Sahara and to connect the Black Sea and the Caspian.

310 "Our Wednesday Book-Box," *The World*, April 19, 1876, p. 19. Originally in pencil, written over in ink, the entry is possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Summarized from a review of *The Elegies of Sextus Propertius.* Trans. into English Verse with the Life of The Poet and Illustrative Notes by James Cranstoun (Edinburgh and London, 1875). The "predominant theme" of Propertius's poems, the reviewer argues, is summed up in the statement that his career "was spoiled by his infatuated and unswerving devotion to a worthless but beautiful woman. . . . He knew that Cynthia was a fickle wanton; he knew that his devotion to her was his moral, spiritual, and social undoing; . . . The curious thing is that it is only when he takes as his subject this loose lived beauty that he rises to the level of true poetry."

311 Aeschylus, *Prometheus, The Tragedies of Aeschylus* (ed. cit., entry 307n), p. 5. In pencil, re-written in ink, the entry is possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Comment on, and quotation from: "O divine aether, and ye swift-winged breezes, and ye fountains of rivers, and countless dimpling of the waves of the deep, and thou earth, mother of all — and to the all-seing orb of the Sun I appeal; look upon me, what treatment I, a god, am enduring at the hand of the gods! "

Cf. Hardy's quotation – directed against Browning's optimism and "lucky dreamlessness" — from the *Trachiniae*: " 'Mark the vast injustice of the gods! " (*Life*, p. 383). In both instances Hardy notes, that is, an awareness of universal injustice.

312 J. G. Wood, *Insects at Home* (London, 1872), p. 340. Comment and abridged quotation.

John George Wood (1827–1889) was a profilic writer on natural history. Hardy owned his *Common British Beetles* (London, n.d.) and *The Common Moths of England* (London, n.d.), listed by Wreden, items 463–64.

As Wright argues, Hardy undoubtedly recognized in the harshness of Nature in the animal world that Wood delineates some of the "philosophical implications for the life of man" (Wright, p. 25), which eventually lead to the tragic perspective of *The Dynasts.* On the other hand, Hardy could also have drawn some consoling ideas from Wood, as a note dated Nov. 28, 1875 suggests: " 'I sit under a tree, and feel alone: I think of certain insects around me magnified by the microscope: . . . And I feel I am by no means alone' " (*Life*, p. 107). The entries from Insects at Home (nos. 312–13, 316–23, 326–43) are not in chronological order, which indicates that they are probably old and that Hardy's imagination on this occasion may well have been stimulated by his memory of

Wood's enthusiasm; in the "Introduction" (from which Hardy quotes, entries 316, 319–20) Hardy found, for instance, Wood's assertion that "some of our dullest and most insignificant little insects are, when placed under the revealing lens of the microscope, absolutely blazing with natural jewellery" (p. 2). The power of the microscope is, of course, emphasized throughout a book on insects. Nor should one – if Hardy related Wood's study to Darwinism – disregard the ethics of benevolence which Hardy also associated with the idea of evolution: " 'The discovery of the law of evolution, which revealed that all organic creatures are of one family, shifted the centre of altruism from humanity to the whole conscious world collectively' " (*Life*, p. 346; see also p. 349).

313 *Ibid.*, p. 339. Comment and abridged quotation with variations.

314 Leader, *The Times*, April 24, 1876, p. 9. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

315 Leader, *The Times*, April 24, 1876, p. 9. Possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Comment on, and summary of, a leader dealing with the question of putting the Artizans' Dwelling Act of 1875 into force also for Whitechapel and Limehouse in order to alleviate the hardships Hardy notes.

316 J. G. Wood, *Insects at Home* (London, 1872), p. 4. Originally in pencil, re-written in ink, the entry is possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Hardy summarizes and quotes from Wood's description of the "four very distinct forms" of the "transformations which insects have to undergo before they reach their perfect or adult stage." For a general note on Wood, see entry 312n.

317 *Ibid.*, p. 77. Quotation and summary.

318 *Ibid.* The parasitic nature of the Ichneumon fly is mentioned in several places. Two possible sources are: (a) "They [the Ichneumon flies] are parasites upon other insects, and for the most part they spend their larval existance within the bodies of their victims, where they lurk unseen and unsuspected until the time comes when they have to change their forms" (p. 320); (b) "Just in proportion as the fat [of the caterpillar] decreases, the Ichneumon larvae increase, so that to the eye the caterpillar looks quite plump and healthy, when it is in reality absolutely emaciated" (p. 326).

319 *Ibid.*, p. 7. Summary.

320 *Ibid.*, p. 10. Summary with key phrases quoted.

321–322 *Ibid.*, p. 16. Comments and abridged quotations.
In *The Return of the Native*, Eustacia's beauty recalls that of the tiger-beetle: "There was a certain obscurity in Eustacia's beauty. . . . In her winter dress, . . . she was like the tiger-beetle, which, when observed in dull situations, seems to be of the quietest neutral colour, but under a full illumination blazes with dazzling splendour" (p. 104). The comparison is already in the ms. (f. 105), but a minor revision was made for the first edition: the ms. "observed out of the sun" was changed into "observed in dull situations" (1st ed., I, 202).

323 *Ibid.*, pp. 208–09. Summary.

324–325 "The Violin," *The Times*, April 25, 1876, p. 5. Comments on, and summaries from, a review of George Hart, *The Violin: Its Makers and Their Imitators* (London, 1875).

326 J. G. Wood, *Insects at Home* (London, 1872), p. 222. Comments and abridged quotation. For a general note on Wood, see entry 312n.

327 *Ibid.*, p. 268. Comment and paraphrase with key phrases quoted.

328 *Ibid.*, p. 269. Comment and summary.

329 *Op. cit.* A generalization based on several different descriptions.

330 *Ibid.*, p. 331. Comment and abridged quotation.

331 *Ibid.*, p. 336. Comment and summary with the final sentence quoted.
Hardy may have remembered this account as he described one of the last things the dying Mrs. Yeobright sees on the heath: "In front of her a colony of ants had established a thoroughfare across the way, where they toiled a never-ending and heavy-laden throng. To look down upon them was like observing a city street from the top of a tower. She remembered that this bustle of ants had been in progress for years at the same spot — doubtless those of the old times were the ancestors of these which walked there now" (*The Return of The Native*, p. 343).

332 *Ibid.*, p. 354. Comment and summary.

333 *Ibid.*, p. 376. Comment and quotation.

334 *Ibid.*, p. 379. Comment and paraphrase with key phrases quoted.

335 *Ibid.*, p. 392. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

336 *Ibid.*, p. 394. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

337 *Ibid.*, p. 397. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

338 *Ibid.*, p. 404. Comment and summary.
Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820), President of the Royal Society, 1778–1820, Peter Pindar, pseud. for John Wolcot (1738–1819), satirist and poet.

339 *Ibid.*, p. 405. Comment and summary.

340 *Ibid.*, pp. 432–33. Comment and summary.

341 *Ibid.*, pp. 619–20. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

342 *Ibid.*, p. 544. Comment and summary.

343 *Ibid.*, p. 632. Comment and summary with quotation.

344 Charles C. F. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs, A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV and King William IV*, ed. Henry Reeve, (4th ed., London, 1875), I, 22; Strachey and Fulford, I, 83–84. Hardy's own page reference tallies with the first four editions. Comment and abridged quotation.

The *Memoirs*, from which there are several other entries (see Index), was, naturally, of value for *The Dynasts* and *The Trumpet Major* (see Wright, pp. 154–55). Hardy also recalls an episode from the *Memoirs* in a letter, see entry 365n, and in 1866 he became socially acquainted with Henry Reeve, the editor of the *Memoirs* (*Life*, p. 181).

345–346 "Bishop Sumner," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (April 22, 1876), 526–27. Comments on, and summaries from, a review of the biography of Sumner; for Hardy's fictional use of the bishop, see entry 306n.

347 Robert Louis Stevenson, "Forest Notes," *Cornhill*, XXXIII (May, 1876), 547. Comment and quotation with variations.

Hardy knew Stevenson personally as several references in the *Life* indicate, and Stevenson was one of the first visitors at Max Gate (*Life*, p. 175). The resentment, therefore, that Hardy must have felt on learning about Stevenson's remarks about Tess to Henry James, is as understandable as it is obvious in his ironic account of his fellow writers and their exchange of views: "Hardy's good-natured friends Henry James and R. L. Stevenson (whom he afterwards called the Polonius and the Osric of novelists) corresponded about it [*Tess*] in this vein: 'Oh, yes, dear Louis: "Tess of the d'Urbervilles" is vile. The pretence

of sexuality is only equalled by the absence of it [?], and the abomination of the language by the author's reputation for style' " (*Life*, p. 246; the second pair of brackets is Hardy's own).

348 *Loc. cit.* Comment and abridged quotation.

349 "Life of Macaulay," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (April 22, 1876), 557. Comment on, and paraphrase of, a quotation from Macaulay in part I of a review of G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 2 vols. (London, 1876). Entries 366–68 have excerpts from part II of the same review. Hardy later read the biography as well and took notes from it: see entries 1029–30, 1034–48, 1055–57. For a general annotation on Macaulay, see entry 21n.

350 "*Queen Mary* at the Lyceum," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (April 22, 1876), 522. Comment on, and quotation with variations from, a negative review of Tennyson's *Queen Mary*. The theatre critic is highly sceptical of the possibility of creating a tragedy on, or even arousing interest in, the lives of Queen Mary and Philip of Spain. In entries 352–53, however, Hardy seems to focus on potentially tragic elements in their relationship.

In the half century between *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1872) — with more quotations from *In Memoriam* than from any other work — to the "Apology" (1922) — with references to *In Memoriam* and *Maud* — Hardy frequently alluded to Tennyson in his works. For a list of such allusions, see Pinion, pp. 208–09, and for discussions of some of their artistic functions, see Springer, pp. 62, 84, 161. For comparisons of themes, attitudes, and stylistic traits in the two poets, see Bailey, esp. pp. 53, 94, 144, 146, 325, 411, 470, 499, 572; Brooks, esp. pp. 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 89; Marsden, pp. 98–99, 168, 227; Millgate, pp. 187–89. On Hardy's markings in his own copy of *In Memoriam*, see Evelyn Hardy, p. 52 and Wright, pp. 20–21. For Hardy on Tennyson and Browning, see entry 1217n.

351 *Loc. cit.* Comment and summary.

352–353 *Loc. cit.* Comments and summaries.

354 *Greville Memoirs* (see entry 344n), I, 30–31; Strachey and Fulford, I, 99. Quotation and summary from: "The discussion of the Queen's business is now become an intolerable nuisance in society; no other subject is ever talked of. . . . It is a great evil when a single subject of interest takes possession of society."

Queen Caroline had lived abroad since 1813. When, in 1820, she wished to return to England, George IV tried to prevent her and forced his ministers to bring in a divorce bill. Largely due to popular resentment, however, this was later abandoned.

Hardy's reference, within brackets, to the Tichborne case is possibly a late annotation. He is, of course, likely to have heard of the spectacular but finally unsuccessful attempt by an impostor to obtain the Tichborne family estates in the early 1870's. He was reminded of it, however, some twenty years later and then found it important enough for incorporation into the *Life* (unless the note is to be seen as part of the autobiography's occasional tendency towards name dropping): " 'December 17 [1892]. At an interesting legal dinner at Sir Francis Jeune's. They were all men of law but myself — mostly judges. Their stories, so old and boring to one another, were all new to me, and I was delighted. Hawkins told me his experiences in the Tichborne case, and that it was by a mere chance that he was not on the other side. Lord Coleridge (the cross-examiner in the same case, with his famous, "Would you be surprised to hear?") was also anecdotic' " (*Life*, p. 251). Henry Hawkins, Baron Brampton (1817–1907), appeared for defence against the imposter. Hardy saw Bernard John Seymor Coleridge, second Baron Colcridge (1851–1927) in Dorchester as Western circuit judge in 1884 (*Life*, p. 167).

355 *Op. cit.*, I, 24; Strachey and Fulford, I, 88. Comment and summary.

356 *Op. cit.*, I, 32; Strachey and Fulford, I, 100. Quotation and summary.
Henry Luttrell (1765?–1851), witty poet of society.

357 *Op. cit.*, I, 43; Strachey and Fulford, I, 114. Summary and quotation.
Hardy used the note in the Opera-House scene in *The Dynasts:* " 'Prinny, where's your wife?' " someone shouts at the Prince Regent (III, 4, viii); in order to incorporate the striking line, Hardy had to change the date of the occasion by several years (see Wright, p. 155).

358 *Op. cit.*, I, 44; Strachey and Fulford, I, 114. Quotation with variations.

359 *Op. cit.*, I, 49; Strachey and Fulford, I, 121. Comment and summary.

360 "The Rationale of Miracles," *Sat. Rev.*, (April 29, 1876), 548. Summary from an article which is highly critical of the Christian defence of Scriptural miracles: "The time has obviously arrived when Christian apologists must review their position in regard to miracles. . . . The first thing to be done in such a review . . . is to disencumber the defence of miracles of arguments which are clearly untenable . . . we mean the distinction sought to be established between the miracles of Scripture and what are called ecclesiastical miracles. . . . What we object to, as utterly inadmissible from a logical point of view and ruinous as a matter of tactics, is the setting up of an arbitrary line on one side of which miracles are freely accepted, on the other rigidly excluded."

361 *Greville Memoirs*, I, 71; Strachey and Fulford, I, 147. Quotation with variations.

362 *Op. cit.*, I, 128–29; Strachey and Fulford, I, 206–07. Summary.

363 *Op. cit.*, I, 162; Strachey and Fulford, I, 245. Comment and paraphrase with key phrases quoted.

364 *Op. cit.*, I, 215n: Strachey and Fulford, I, 299–300n. The entry is in pencil. Summary, with the second sentence quoted from a footnote by H. Reeve, the editor. The footnote emphasizes the political role of the comtesse du Cayla, Hardy's entry her personal relationship to the king.

365 *Op. cit.*, I, 241; Strachey and Fulford, I, 327. Comment and abridged quotation.

Hardy humourously recalls the anecdote, but confuses the battles, in a letter to Clodd in 1907: " 'In two or three days I shall have done with the proofs of *Dynasts* III. It is well that the business should be over, for I have been living in Wellington's campaigns so much lately that, like George IV, I am almost positive that I took part in the battle of Waterloo, and have written of it from memory' " (*Life*, p. 453). See also *One Rare Fair Woman*, p. 135.

366 "Life of Macaulay," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (April 29, 1876), 557. Summary from the second part of a review of Trevelyan's biography of Macaulay; the first part of the review is noted in entry 349.

Hardy's own ranking of the Greeks is unknown, and he does not refer to Demosthenes anywhere. For general notes on Plato, see entry 442n; on Aeschylus entry 169n. Hardy quotes both Comte (entry 868) and Macaulay (entries 1035, 1038, 1045) on Thucydides, but despite his great interest in history (see entry 1248n), there is only one direct reference to the Greek historian, in "An Ancient to Ancients"; Thucydides is not even in Jude's rather long enumeration of the classics, but Jude manages to mention Aristophanes (p. 41) before he is hit by Arabella's missile. This is the only allusion to Aristophanes in Hardy's writing.

Not surprisingly, Sophocles is much more prominent. Rutland (pp. 39–42) offers a valuable description of some of Hardy's careful markings in his own copies of Sophocles and relates them to Hardy's thought in his fiction as well as in *The Dynasts*. See also James Hazen's interesting "*Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and *Antigone*," *ELT*, 14 (1972), 207–15. To Pinion's list (p. 208) of Sophoclean allusions can be added the reference in one of Hardy's statements against "realism" in art. Hardy closes a discussion of the effectiveness of Bible narratives with the rhetorical question: " 'Is not the fact of their being so convincing an

argument, not for their actuality, but for the actuality of a consummate artist who was not more content with what Nature offered than Sophocles and Pheidias were content? ' " (*Life*, p. 171; as to Pheidias the same point is made in entries 1198–99). Another instance of Hardy's persistent interest in Sophocles is, of course, his late poem "Thoughts from Sophocles" in "Some Unpublished Poems by Thomas Hardy," ed. Evelyn Hardy, *London Magazine* III (1956), 39.

Hardy's copy of *Sophocles*, trans. T.A.Buckley, Bohn's Classical Library (London, n.d.) is described in the Grolier Club *Catalogue*, p. 2.

367 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

Hardy is not likely to have had any great objections to this list, judging from his considerable number of allusions to the six poets. For general notes on Homer, see entry 263n; on Aeschylus, 169n; on Milton, 1144n; on Sophocles 366n.

The great number of allusions to Shakespeare [estimated at above 150 by Carl J. Weber in "Hardy: Twin Voice of Shakespeare," *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, IX (April, 1934), 91–97] testifies to the truth of Weber's assertion that "for more than sixty years, Hardy saturated his mind with Shakespearean words, Shakespearean thoughts, Shakespearean characters, Shakespearean attitudes, Shakespearean situations, Shakespearean humour, Shakespearean tragedy. . ." (Weber, pp. 37–38). Support for Weber's assertion is found in the "Studies, Specimens &c" Notebook, which has a great number of excerpts from fifteen plays. Shakespeare's impact on Hardy's works has not yet been comprehensively investigated. A study of it would, in addition to passing references to the subject in most works on Hardy, find much useful information in Weber's article as well as in his book on Hardy (esp. pp. 36ff.) in Pinion's list of allusions (pp. 215–17), in Rutland (esp. pp. 289–90, 346–51). Despite the necessity of making this list of secondary sources very selective, attention should be drawn also to Marlene Springer's many fine comments on specific Shakespearean allusions in her general study of Hardy's allusions: see esp. pp. 85, 88, 99, 102, 103, 124, 143, 157, 160.

The impact of Dante on Hardy is less conspicuous, but not negligible. A concise, but persuasive, general estimate of it is given by Wright, pp. 12–13. In addition to Pinion's list of allusions (p. 206), Dante's works are referred to in *A Laodicean* (p. 226), in a letter to the *Daily Chronicle* (Orel, p. 202), and in a list of Hardy's reading for 1887 (*Life*, p. 203).

In the "1867" Notebook there are a few quotations from *Dante's Divine Comedy: The Inferno*. A Literal Prose Translation by John A. Carlyle (2nd ed. 1867; rpt. London, 1882). The copy is in the DCM and has many underlinings, particularly in the first half. Some of these are discussed by Wright (pp. 12–13, 77, 89–90).

368 *Ibid.*, p. 558. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

369 *Greville Memoirs*, I, 246–47; Strachey and Fulford, I, 333. Summary.

370 *Op. cit.*, I, 250; Strachey and Fulford, I, 337. Summary with key phrases quoted.

371 *Op. cit.*, I, 243, 263–64; Strachey and Fulford, I, 329, 353. Summary.
Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), president of the Royal Academy. Sir James Mackintosh (1765–1832), the philosopher.

372 *Op. cit.*, I, 268; Strachey and Fulford, I, 362. Comment and quotation.

373 *Op. cit.*, I, 274; Strachey and Fulford, I, 368. Quotation with slight variations.

374 *Op. cit.*, I, 285; Strachey and Fulford, I, 381. Quotation.

375 *Op. cit.*, I, 385–86; Strachey and Fulford, I, 485. Quotation with variations.

376 *Op. cit.*, I, 406; Strachey and Fulford, I, 505. Summary.

377 *Op. cit.*, I, 407; Strachey and Fulford, I, 506. Summary with key words quoted.

378 *Op. cit.*, I, 407; Strachey and Fulford, I, 506–07; Comment and quotation with variations.

379 *Op. cit.*, I, 343; Strachey and Fulford, I, 442. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

380 *Op. cit.*, I, 355–56; Strachey and Fulford, I, 453. Summary.

381 *Op. cit.*, I, 294; Strachey and Fulford, I, 392. Summary with key phrases quoted.

382 *Op. cit.*, I, 304; Strachey and Fulford, I, 402. Quotation with variations.
Hardy marked the description of the Sistine Chapel in his copy of Baedecker's *Central Italy*, pp. 283–84. Hardy's copy is now in the British Museum.

383 *Op. cit.*, I, 313; Strachey and Fulford, I, 412. Summary.

384 *Op. cit.*, II, 6; Strachey and Fulford, II, 6. Summary with key words quoted; "good-natured" is added in pencil.

385 *Op. cit.*, II, 3n; Strachey and Fulford, II, 3–4n. Summary.
Dorothea or Dorothy Jordan (1762–1816), actress.

386 *Op. cit.*, II, 4–5; Strachey and Fulford, II, 3. Abridged quotation.

387 *Op. cit.*, II, 4; Strachey and Fulford, II, 4. Comment and abridged quotation.

388 *Op. cit.*, II, 65–66; Strachey and Fulford, II, 64. Summary with key words quoted.

389 *Op. cit.*, II, 108; Strachey and Fulford, II, 110. Comment and abridged quotation.

390 *Op. cit.*, II, 106; Strachey and Fulford, II, 107. Comment and quotation with slight variations.
Queen Adelaide (1792–1849), daughter of George, Duke of Saxe-Coburg Meiningen; see also entry 402.

391 *Op. cit.*, II, 109; Strachey and Fulford, II, 111. Comment and quotation with varitions.
Sir Henry William Paget (1768–1854), first Marquis of Anglesey; lord-lieutenant of Ireland 1828–29, 1830–33.

392 "Joseph and his Brethren," *The Examiner*, May 6, 1876, p. 515. Quotation from a review of Charles Wells, *Joseph and his Brethren: A Dramatic Poem*, with an Introduction by A. C. Swinburne (London, 1876). Hardy's entry focuses on the Darwinian overtones in the reviewer's pondering on the fate of a work of art which depends, he argues, "upon the mood of the public to which it is addressed. . . . it is a popular error to suppose that, in a good book, there is some fate-compelling power which will save it from perishing, even though it may miss its mark at first. Science tells . . . [Hardy's quotation]. It is the same in Art." For a general note on Hardy and Darwin, see 895n.

393 *Loc. cit.* Summary. For a general note on Swinburne, see 1288n.

394 *Greville Memoirs*, II, 117; Strachey and Fulford, II, 118. Summary.

395 *Op. cit.*, II, 128; Strachey and Fulford, II, 129. E. Hardy's hand. Comment, summary, and quotation with slight variations.

William Philip Molyneux (1772–1838), 2nd Earl of Sefton.

396 *Op. cit.*, II, 193; Strachey and Fulford, II, 197. E. Hardy's hand. Comment, summary, and quotation with slight variations.

397 *Op. cit.*, III, 35; Strachey and Fulford, II, 419. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation and summary.

Sydney Smith (1771–1845), was famous as a wit. He was one of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review*; became canon of St. Paul's in 1831.

398 *Loc. cit.*, E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with variations.

399 *Op. cit.*, III, 36–37; Strachey and Fulford, II, 421. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

400 *Op. cit.*, III, 50; Strachey and Fulford, III, 5. Comment and quotation with variations. The first thirteen words are in pencil.

401 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

Sir Richard Arkwright (1732–1792), engineer and wealthy mill-owner.

402 *Op. cit.*, III, 122; Strachey and Fulford, III, 72–73. Comment, summary, and abridged quotation. For Queen Adelaide, see also entry 390n.

403 *Op. cit.*, III, 126; Strachey and Fulford, III, 76. Comment, summary, and quotation with slight variations.

Tom Young was Melbourne's private secretary.

404 *Op. cit.*, III, 127; Strachey and Fulford, III, 77. Summary and quotation.

405 *Op. cit.*, III, 128; Strachey and Fulford, III, 78. Comment, quotation with slight variations, and parenthetical annotations.

406 *Op. cit.*, III, 129; Strachey and Fulford, III, 79. Summary and quotation.

Edward Irving (1792–1834), founder of the "Catholic Apostolic Church" and friend of Carlyle; see also entry 1219.

407 *Op. cit.*, III, 134; Strachey and Fulford, III, 84. Quotation with slight variations.

408 *Op. cit.*, III, 129; Strachey and Fulford, III, 79. Quotation with slight variations.

Alexander Wedderburn (1733–1805), first Baron Loughborough and first Earl of Rosslyn; lord chancellor.

409 *Loc. cit.* Comment and summary with interpolated quotations as indicated.

410 *Op. cit.*, III, 148; Strachey and Fulford, III, 97. Comment, summary, and quotation with slight variations.

411 *Op. cit.*, III, 210; Strachey and Fulford, III, 157. Summary.

412 *Op. cit.*, III, 324; Strachey and Fulford, III, 267. Abridged quotation from a description by Henry Luttrell (see entry 356n) of Thomas More (1779–1852) and Samuel Rogers (1763–1855).

413 *Op. cit.*, III, 408; Strachey and Fulford, III, 374. Comment, summary and quotation.

William Charles Keppel (1772–1849), fourth Earl of Albemarle.

414 The entry is based on the "Ballad of Chevy Chase," Pt. II, x, but the specific edition is unidentified. In Hardy's copy (DCM) of Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, Routledge's British Poets (London n.d.), the relevant lines, unmarked by Hardy, read:

> For Witherington needs must I wayle, as one in doleful dumpes;
> For when his leggs were smitten off, he fought upon his stumpes. (p. 132)

415 "Clive," p. 99; Grieve, p. 505. Summary from Macaulay's description of the notorious atrocity. Of the 146 prisoners pressed into the dungeon – twenty feet square – only 23 survived the night.

With questionable appropriateness, Hardy alludes to the episode at Thomasin's visit to Clym and Eustacia in their little cottage: " 'You must not shrink from me, dear Clym,' said Thomasin earnestly, in that sweet voice of hers which came to a sufferer like fresh air into a Black Hole" (*The Return of the Native*, p. 369).

416 John Keats, "The Eve of St. Agnes," vii. Quotation.

In his *The Life of Thomas Hardy* (New York, 1925), p. 143, Ernest Brennecke Jr. assigned Keats to "the few great English lyrists who do not seem

to have held the slightest interest for Hardy." In his own copy of this study Hardy marginally dismissed this statement as "false." Hardy's protest is supported by several indications in his autobiography of his great interest in Keats as well as by a great number of allusions to him in his own works: see Pinion, pp. 210–11. For informative and suggestive discussions of Hardy's poems dealing directly with Keats, see Bailey, pp. 132–33; 441–42, 454–55; for the allusions in Hardy's prose, see F. G. Atkinson, "Hardy's *The Woodlanders* and a Stanza by Keats," *N&Q*, n.s. XV (Nov. 1968), 423; David B. Green, " 'The Eve of St. Agnes' and *A Pair of Blue Eyes*," N&Q, n.s. IV (April 1957), 153; A. G. Shireff, " 'The Eve of St. Agnes' and *A Pair of Blue Eves*," *N&Q*, n.s. IV (Nov. 1957), 502; Springer, pp. 58, 93, 103, 108, 134, 148, 205, 217, 241.

There is one allusion which seems to have caused Hardy some aesthetic concern, and it was changed for each published version: in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, Boldwood's love for Bathsheba is described as having, among other things, the following effect: "His body moved restlessly, and it was with what Keats daintily calls a too happy happiness" (p. 181); "what Keats daintily calls" is not in the MS. nor in the serial version; the first edition has "and it was with what the poet calls a too happy . . ." (I, 265); and, the Osgood, McIlvaine edition "with what the poet Keats calls a too happy . . ." (p. 182).

In the DCM there is a copy, signed by Hardy, of *The Poetical Works*, ed. William Michael Rosetti (London, n.d.). It has several markings.

417 "Clive," p. 95; Grieve, p. 498. Summary with key words quoted. See also entry 29 and n.

418 John Morley, "Macaulay," *Fort. Rev.*, XXV (April 1, 1876), 496; Morley, Works, VI, 175. Abridged quotation with slight variations from Morley's account of Macaulay's indulgence in his own genius and spirit. The sentiment harmonizes well with Hardy's concern for the integrity of an artist's idiosyncracies (see "Critical Introduction," p. xxvii).

Hardy's first personal contact with Morley came as early as 1868, when Morley read the MS. of *The Poor Man and the Lady*; his praise of the rural scenes encouraged Hardy to write *Under the Greenwood Tree* (*Life*, pp. 58–60, 86). As their extant correspondence and many references in the *Life* reveal, their acquaintance grew very favourably on both social and business levels. Many of Morley's ideas are likely to have attracted Hardy, especially his determinism, agnosticism, and positivism. Wright (pp. 35–36) offers a sound and stimulating discussion of Hardy's reading of Morley's *Diderot and the Encyclopaedists* in relation to the determinism of *The Dynasts*. Hardy's extensive marking of his copy of the 1891 ed. of *Diderot* (DCM) also reflects his general acceptance of Morley's positivism and "religion of humanity." See also entry 709n. Hardy's

positivism (see entry 618n) did not derive from Morley, but some of the marked passages are suggestive because they were singled out at about the time when Hardy was subjected to severe criticism on moral and religious grounds for *Tess* — a novel which Frederic Harrison praised as "a Positivist allegory or sermon" (see entry 1213n).

Facing Alec's temporary religious fanaticism, Tess "tried to argue, and tell him that he had mixed in his dull brain two matters, theology and morals, which in the primitive days of mankind had been quite distinct" (p. 421). The point is reiterated in Angel's final insight into the matter: "Having long discredited the old systems of mysticism, he now began to discredit the old appraisements of morality. He thought they wanted readjusting" (p. 433). In his *Diderot* [after Morley's account of the simultaneous "passionate contempt for all asceticism" and the "general relaxation of morals" that followed the "gloomy rigour" of the reign of Louis XIV] Hardy marked the following: "This is one of those enormous drawbacks that people seldom take into account when they are enumerating the blessings of superstition. Mediaeval superstition had produced some advantages, but now came the set-off. Durable morality had been associated with a transitory religious faith. The faith fell into intellectual discredit, and sexual morality shared its decline for a short season. This must always be the natural consequence of building sound ethics on the shifting sands and rotting foundations of thelogy" (I, 74).

The moral criteria of the novel — which counter and defeat Alec's scepticism of "an ethical system without any dogma" (p. 421) — are in a similar way encompassed in another passage that Hardy marked off: "The moment you attempt to find a base for morals outside of human nature, you go wrong; no other is solid and sure" (II, 199); Morley, *Works*, XI, 150.

For other markings in Hardy's copy of *Diderot*, see entry 1064n.

419 *Op. cit.*, p. 501; Morley, *Works*, VI, 182. Quotation.

Hardy repeatedly emphasized the value of "uncommonness" in narrative art (*Life*, pp. 150, 239, 252). The fact that he was struck by Morley's statement seems, therefore, to be due to Morley's emphasis on "noble" and "imaginative."

420 *Op. cit.*, p. 502; Morley, *Works*, VI, 184. Abridged quotation with variations. For Thiers see also entry 1100 and n.

421 *Loc. cit.* Extracted from Morley's continued exposition of Macaulay's patriotism: "The thought of the prodigious industry, the inventiveness, the stout enterprise . . . the noble literature, of this fortunate island and its majestic empire beyond the seas . . . sent through Macaulay a thrill, like that which the . . . sight of the dear city of the Violet Crown moved in an Athenian of old."

422 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation.

423 *Op. cit.*, p. 504; Morley, *Works*, VI, 187.

Hardy studied Burke for stylistic purposes (*Life*, p. 105). For some of the results of this, see S. F. Johnson's very fine "Hardy and Burke's 'Sublime'," *Style in Prose Fiction* (New York, 1959), 55–86.

424 J. C. Morison, "Madame de Maintenon: I," *Fort. Rev.*, XXV (April 1, 1876), 604. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with variations.

James Augustus Cotter Morison (1832–88), positivist. Hardy copied from Morison's positivist essay "Service of Man" (1887) into his "Literary Notes" for 1887 or 1888.

425 *Ibid.*, p. 603. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

426 *Ibid.*, p. 606. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

427–428 *Ibid.*, pp. 606–07. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

429 *Ibid.*, p. 607. E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation and summary.

In the DCM there is a copy of *The Whole Comical Works of Monsr Scarron*, Transl. by Mr. Tho. Browne, Mr. Savage, and others (London, 1700).

There is a passing reference to Scarron in *Jude* (p. 176).

430 *Ibid.*, p. 430. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

431 *Ibid.*, pp. 607–11. E. Hardy's hand. Summary of Morison's account of M. de Maintenon's nursing of several persons.

432 *Ibid.*, p. 612. E. Hardy's hand. Summary and quotation.

433 *Ibid.*, p. 613. Comment, summary, and abridged quotation.

434–436 *Ibid.*, p. 616. Summaries with key phrases quoted.

437 John Morley, "Macaulay," *Fort. Rev.*, XXV (April 1, 1876), 502; Morley, *Works*, VI, 184. Comment and quotation. See also entries 418–23 for notes from the same article.

438 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation; Hardy's underlining.

439 *Op. cit.*, p. 504; Morley, *Works*, VI, 187. Quotation with slight variations.

440 *Op. cit.*, p. 505; Morley, *Works*, VI, 188. Quotation with slight variations.

441 *Op. cit.*, p. 507; Morley, *Works*, VI, 191. Quotation.

442 B. Jowett, "Introduction," *The Dialogues of Plato* transl. into English with Analyses and Introduction by B. Jowett, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1871), I, 3. The page references in the following entries tally with the first edition, not with the second (1875). Quotation, with Hardy's underlining, and annotation.

Rutland states categorically that Hardy was "not a Platonist" (p. 32), although, he admits, a letter to the *Academy* about *The Well-Beloved* in 1897 suggests that Hardy might have been interested in Plato in his youth: " 'Not only was it published serially five years ago, but it was sketched many years before that date when I was comparatively a young man and interested in the Platonic Idea, which considering its charm and its poetry, one could well wish to be interested in always' " (quoted Rutland, p. 32). As Rutland argues, "any vestiges of platonic ideas" in the novel may, however, well derive from the platonism of Shelley, from whom the epigraph of *The Well-Beloved* is taken. The entries here show, on the other hand, that Hardy was drawn to Plato also in the 1870's, and a note in the *Life* that he perused Plato also in 1889: " '(After reading Plato's dialogue "Cratylus"): A very good way of looking at things would be to regard everything as having an actual or false name, and an intrinsic or true name, to ascertain which all endeavour should be made. . . . The fact is that nearly all things are falsely, or rather inadequately, named' " (*Life*, p. 217). Whether or not Hardy's knowledge of Plato was second-hand, his symbolic turn of mind is likely to have been attracted by Plato's concept of reality. This concept — or rather, perhaps, an approximation of it (see Hardy on Kant, *Life*, pp. 247—48) — is part of, if not the basis for, Hardy's anti-realistic aesthetics. See also "Critical Introduction," pp. xxi ff.

Hardy's underlining of the phrase *the beautiful youth* seems significant in relation to a specific aspect of Hardy's moral aesthetics. He argues in a few places that the beauty of young men is a thing of the past, of classical times, undisturbed by introspection and pessimistic philosophies. The idea is most clearly and fully developed in *The Return of the Native:* Clym's face bears evidence of the "destructive interdependence of spirit and flesh" (p. 162); and, since "ideal physical beauty is incompatible with emotional development and a full recognition of the coil of things" (p. 162), Hardy surmises that "physically beautiful men — the glory of the race when it was young — are almost an anachronism now" (p. 197); for a fuller discussion of this theme in the novel, see my " 'Visible Essences' as Thematic Structure in Hardy's *The Return of the Native*," esp. pp. 59–61. In *A Laodicean* the argument is identical: "A youthfulness about the mobile features, a mature forehead — though not exactly what the world has been familiar with in past ages — is now growing common;

and with the advance of juvenile introspection it probably must grow commoner still. Briefly, he [George Somerset] had more of the beauty – if beauty it ought to be called – of the future human type than of the past" (p. 5).

Related to this idea – and relevant to Jowett's Introduction – but from a somewhat different perspective, is Hardy's sentiment in *Two on A Tower:* "Whether because no deep felicity is likely to arise from the condition, or from any other reason, to say in these days that a youth is beautiful is not to award him that amount of credit which the expression would have carried with it if he had lived in the time of the Classical Dictionary" (p. 5). This generalization, leading up to the first description of Swithin St. Cleeve, acquires potential importance to Hardy's over-all characterization of the youth if seen in the light of Jowett's introductory explanation that in "this Dialogue [Charmides] may be noted . . . the Greek ideal of beauty and goodness, the vision of the fair soul in the fair body, realized in the beautiful Charmides" (p. 5). In Swithin's case, on the other hand, his fair exterior does not enshrine a fair soul, as Hardy's basically rather unsympathetic portrayal of him suggests; see, for instance: "He was a scientist, and took words literally. There is something in the inexorably simple logic of such men which partakes of the cruelty of the natural laws that are their study" (p. 312).

443 *Ibid.*, I, 3–5. Summary.

As Clym asks him mother to explain what "doing well" really means, she turns Socratian: "Mrs. Yeobright was far too thoughtful a woman to be content with ready definitions, and, like the 'What is wisdom?' of Plato's Socrates . . . Yeobright's burning question received no answer" (*The Return of the Native*, p. 208). For other references to Socrates, see *The Woodlanders*, p. 138 and "An Ancient to Ancients."

444 *Ibid.*, I, 5. Abridged quotation.

445 *Loc. cit.* Summary with quotations as indicated.

446 Plato, "Charmides" (see entry 442n), I, 31. Quotation with Hardy's underlining. "The dream" is the "dream of universal knowledge," according to Jowett's marginal analysis in the 1892 (3rd) edition, p. 34.

447 *Ibid.*, I, 34. Summary and quotation with slight variations.

448 *Ibid.*, I, 7. Summary and quotation from the scene-description.

449 B. Jowett's "Introduction" to "Lysis" (see entry 442n), I, 39. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

450 *Ibid.*, I, 43. Summary and quotation from the scene-description.

451 Plato, "Lysis," (see entry 442n), I, 43. Summary.

452 *Ibid.*, I, 47. Abridged quotation with variations.

453 *Ibid.*, I, 51. Abridged quotation with variations.

454 *Ibid.*, I, 53. Abridged quotation with variations.

455 *Loc. cit.* Summary and quotation.

456 *Loc. cit.* Summary and abridged quotation.

457 *Ibid.*, I, 57–58. Abridged quotation with variations.

458 *Ibid.*, I, 59. Abridged quotation with variations.

459 *Loc. cit.* Comment on the discussion on which the previous entry is based. The comment should perhaps not be seen as a separate entry; it is, however, set off from the preceding one, with the first words underlined as a heading.

460 *Ibid.*, I, 67. Quotation with variations.

461–462 *The Tragedies of Aeschylus*, trans. T. A. Buckley (Bohn's Classical Library, London, 1849), p. 1. Abridged quotations from the introductory stage description and footnote to the opening scene of *Prometheus Chained*.

For a description of the edition, see entry 307n; for a consideration of the potential significance of Hardy's reading of *Prometheus* at the time he was writing *The Return of the Native* with its theme of rebellion and pervasive fire imagery, see my " 'Visible Essences' as Thematic Structure in Hardy's *The Return of the Native*."

463 "The Ethics of Suicide," *Sat. Rev.*, XLI (June 17, 1876), 770. Abridged quotation.

The article focuses on the conflicting Pagan and Christian attitudes towards suicide and on how this juxtaposition in its larger dimensions reflects contrasting views on human existence: "The philosphy of suicide, if it may be so termed, has especial interest for this reason among others, that few points could be named which so sharply and decisively discriminate the whole Pagan and Christian conceptions of virtue. . . . This is, of course, partly due to the very different views taken of death, and therefore of life, in the rival systems; but

that difference runs up into another, and still more fundamental one, as to the position and duties of created beings and the true standard of goodness. Mr. Swinburne has forcibly hit off the Pagan idea in his Hymn to Proserpine, 'I kneel not, neither adore, *but, standing, look to the end*.' The Stoics represented the old Pagan . . . ." Hardy himself was later to quote from "Hymn to Proserpine" in a similar ideological context; in his final reckoning, in fictional form, with Christianity, *Jude the Obscure*, Sue bitterly and accusingly quotes:

> 'Thou has conquered, O pale Galilean:
> The world has grown grey from thy breath' (p. 111)

But the immediate interest of the article is that in it Hardy found a concise and forceful distinction between Pagan and Christian morality and ethics at the time when he was working on *The Return of the Native*, his first novel to dramatize so conspicuously the clash between Hellenic and nineteenth-century, mainly Christian, views of life. This is not, of course, to argue that this theme derives from "Ethics of Suicide." Hardy had undoubtedly thought a good deal on the subject himself, and he also read other relevant material on it before and during the writing of the novel: see, for instance, entries 290–97; 311, 484–86; 500–80; 618–20; 627–769. The article remains, however, an interesting item in the ideological background of *The Return of the Native*. See also "Critical Introduction", p. xxv and n24.

Incidentally, "Ethics of Suicide" relies, without acknowledging it, to a great extent on W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, 2 vols. (London, 1869), I, 205–35. The debt is clear both as to form and content, and for an example of how close the article occasionally comes to Lecky's language, see entry 468n.

Teres atque rotundus is from Horace, *Satires:* "Who then is free? The wise man, who is lord over himself, whom neither poverty nor death nor bonds affright, who bravely defies his passions, and scorns ambition, who in himself is a whole, smoothed and rounded, so that nothing from outside can rest on the polished surface, and against whom Fortune in her onset is ever maimed" (*Satires*, II, vii, 83–88; trans. H. R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library, 1955).

464 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

Hardy repeatedly expressed a similar interpretation of the Hellenic view of life. In *The Return of the Native* he maintained that "a long line of disillusive centuries has permanently displaced the Hellenic idea of life" and that "the view of life as a thing to be put up with" has replaced "that zest for existence which was so intense in early civilizations" (p. 197). Cf. Angel Clare's indulgence at Talbothays in "the aesthetic, sensuous, pagan pleasure in natural life" and his notion that "it might have resulted far better for mankind if Greece had been the source of the religion of modern civilization, and not Palestine" (*Tess*,

p. 203); and, Sue's exclamation: "I feel that we have returned to Greek joyousness, and have blinded ourselves to sickness and sorrow, and have forgotten what twenty-five centuries have taught the race since their time . . ." (*Jude*, p. 358).

Having noted Hardy's sympathy for Greek civilization, Ernest Brennecke Jr. wrote in his *The Life of Thomas Hardy* (New York, 1925) that "Hardy seemed almost unconscious of the very deep-seated strain of disillusionment and pessimism which runs through the greater part of early Greek literature" (p. 176). Hardy marked these lines in his own copy of Brennecke's study (DCM) and wrote in the margin: "untrue – vide Preface to 'Late Lyrics'." In his "Apology" to *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (London, 1922) Hardy explained, and defended, his own view of life which he labelled "evolutionary meliorism": "But it is called pessimism nevertheless; under which word, expressed with condemnatory emphasis, it is regarded by many as some pernicious new thing (though so old as to underlie the Christian idea, and even to permeate the Greek drama)" [p. viii; for the Wessex Edition, Verse V, 1926, "the Christian idea" was changed into "the Gospel scheme," Orel, p. 52].

465 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

466 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

467 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

468 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

See entry 463n and cf. the article's "Seneca . . . is emphatic in his advocacy of suicide, and waxes eloquent over the refuge thus opened to the oppressed and suffering on earth" with Lecky's "Seneca . . . emphatically advocated suicide. . . . He clung to it as the one refuge for the oppressed and the wronged" (I, 225, 228).

469 *Loc. cit.* Summary and abridged quotation.

470 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

471 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's underlining and parenthetical annotation.

472 *Loc. cit.* Summary and abridged quotation.

473 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

474 *Loc. cit.* Summary with key phrases quoted.

475 *Loc. cit.* Summary and quotation.

Cf. Hardy's authorial comment on Alec's seduction/rape of Tess: "But, might some say, where was Tess's guardian angel? . . . One may, indeed, admit the possibility of a retribution lurking in the present catastrophe. Doubtless some of Tess d'Urberville's mailed ancestors rollicking home from a fray had dealt the same measure even more ruthlessly towards peasant girls of their time. But though to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children may be a morality good enough for divinities, it is scorned by average human nature" (p. 91). Cf. entry 552.

476 *Loc. cit.* Summary with key phrases quoted.

477 George Sand, *Mauprat*, trans. Virginia Vaughan (Boston, 1870), p. 104. Hardy's pagination accords with this edition, of which he owned a reprint (see below). Abridged quotation from Patience's account of his development once he had been introduced to the world of poetry:

> Before knowing the poets . . . I was like a man who lacked one sense. I saw that such a sense must exist, since so many things called out its activity. I walked alone at night, tormented by a vague anxiety, asking myself why I could not sleep . . . why I was thrilled with sudden joy on beholding certain colours, or saddened even to shedding tears on hearing certain sounds. Sometimes, when I compared my continual agitation with the indifference of other men of my class, I felt terrified, and was ready to imagine myself a fool. . . . At present it is enough for me to know that the things I admired have been found beautiful in all times by all intelligent men. . . . I rejoice in the thought that there is not a flower, or shade of color . . . that has not fixed the attention and moved the heart of other men. . . . Since I know that a man's reason does not forbid him to people and explain the universe with and by his dreams, I live absorbed in the contemplation of the universe, and when the sight of the wretchedness and crimes . . . .

The entry focuses on Patience's belief in the growth of humanitarianism, a belief that Hardy may have shared in 1876, but which the First World War crushed for him (*Life* p. 368). For related concepts of nature, as well as the evolutionary one from a melioristic point of view, see entries 312n, 620n, 718, 895n, 1301n.

Hardy's attention was directed towards George Sand in various ways in 1876. Starting on the same page in *The Saturday Review* where "The Ethics of Suicide" (see preceding entries) ended, was an article on George Sand called "Emancipated Woman"; a few weeks earlier, in its review of *The Hand of Ethelberta*, the same magazine had compared him to the French author: "Mr.

Hardy has rare qualities — a keen observation of nature, a knowledge of country life and its ways that George Sand might envy" (XLI [May 6, 1876], 593); a few weeks earlier still Leslie Stephen had recommended Hardy to read Sand (see "Critical Introduction," p. xviii).

Hardy had, however, become acquainted with her work a few years before this. In a letter dated Dec. 8, 1873, Henry Holt mentions having sent to Hardy *Mauprat*, *The Miller of Angibault*, and *The Marquis de Villemer:* see Carl J. Weber, *Hardy in America* (Waterville, Maine, 1946), p. 20. According to Wreden (items 410–12), the three novels were printed in Boston, 1871.

Hardy lists George Sand among the "immortals" of French literature (Orel, p. 140), and he quotes, at some length and with great approval, a passage on poetry from her novel *André* (Orel, p. 148). There is a passing reference to Sand in "The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid" as Jim and Margery are finally reconciled: " 'Well', said Jim, with no great concern (for '*la jalousie rétrospective*,' as George Sand calls it had nearly died out of him). . .," *A Changed Man*, p. 399. The French words are only in the published versions; the MS. has "retrospective jealousy" (f. 115).

478 *Ibid.*, p. 105. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

479 *Ibid.*, p. 164. Quotation with a slight variation.

480 *Ibid.*, p. 166. Quotation with slight variations.

The entry concentrates on the fictional character's awareness of the superior, but also potentially disastrous, power of emotion in human life — a primary theme, of course, in Hardy's own works and reflected in other entries; see, for instance, 1n, 66n.

481 *Ibid.*, p. 168. Abridged quotation.

482 *Ibid.*, p. 176. Abridged quatation.

483 *Ibid.*, p. 181. Quotation with slight variations from a passage discussing what the speaker considers a typically male view of women: "Men imagine that a woman has no individual existence, and that she ought always to be absorbed in them; and yet they love no woman deeply, unless she elevates herself, by her character, above the weakness and inertia of her sex. You see in this country how all the planters dispose . . . ." There are, of course, easily recognizable thematic similarities between this and entry 481 on the one hand and the Angel-Tess relationship in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* on the other.

484 "Cox's General History of Greece," *Sat. Rev.*, XLII (July 15, 1876), 81. Abridged quotation with variations from a review of G. W. Cox, *A General History of Greece from the Earliest Period to the Death of Alexander the Great, with a Sketch of the Subsequent History to the Present Time* (London, 1876).

485 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with slight variations.

486 *Ibid.*, p. 82. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

487 J. H. Bridges, "Harvey and Vivisection," *Fort. Rev.*, XXVI (July 1, 1876), 1. Quotation with slight variations.

The article contests the opinion that vivisection was the method which led to Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. Hardy was personally very much opposed to vivisection: see *Life*, pp. 346–47 and *One Rare Fair Woman*, pp. 61–62, 112, 124, 140, 144, 162.

John Henry Bridges (1832–1906) was one of the many exponents of positivism that Hardy read. For a general note on positivism, see entry 618n.

488 *Ibid.*, pp. 2–4. Summary with key phrases quoted.

489 *Ibid.*, p. 7. Quotation with slight variations from a passage in which Bridges argues for the "method of Comparison" in biological science and points to the unity of organic matter.

490 *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13. Abridged quotations from Bridges's argumentation in favour of imaginative reasoning as opposed to routine vivisection.

490–93 *Ibid.*, p. 15. Abridged quotations with slight variations from Bridges's continued support of hypothetical speculation as against ocular observation.

494 *Ibid.*, p. 16. Abridged quotation from Bridges's contention that, considering the "differences both in public and in philosophical opinion between Harvey's age and ours," Harvey's use of vivisection is more defensible than that of the nineteenth century practitioners: "In the seventeenth century the number of brutal sports tolerated by the law and encouraged by fashion was very great. In our time it is comparatively small: fox-hunting and pigeon-shooting survive, but the bull-baiting and bear-baiting are gone; badger-baiting and cock-fighting are all but extinct, and are punished by the very magistrates who breed foxes carefully with the purpose of hunting them to death."

For one of Hardy's many expressions of concern over the suffering of animals, especially as the victims of sport, see a letter from 1904: " 'I can only say generally that the prevalence of those sports which consist in the pleasure of

watching a fellow-creature, weaker or less favoured than ourselves, in its struggles, by Nature's poor resources only, to escape the death-agony we mean to inflict by the treacherous contrivances of science, seems one of the many convincing proofs that we have not yet emerged from barbarism' " (*Life*, p. 321).

495 Edmund Guerney, "On some disputed points in Music," *Fort. Rev.*, XX (July 1, 1876), 108. Quotation with variations and parenthetical annotations.

Hardy notes, but disagrees with, Guerney's refutation of Spencer's ideas on the origin of music. As the passage may conceivably be relevant to Hardy's prosody, it is here quoted at some length:

> To begin then at the beginning, what is the origin of music? Mr. Darwin gives many instances tending to prove that the vocal organs and means of producing sounds possessed by animals were primarily used and perfected in relation to the propagation of species; . . . We might still inquire why the opposite sex was charmed, and how far the pleasure in its early stages can be analysed. Mr. Herbert Spencer on the other hand has written an ingenious essay in which he derives the sense of music from the cadences of emotional speech: . . .
>
> Mr. Spencer founds his theory on the view that the vocal peculiarities which indicate excited feeling are those which especially distinguish song from ordinary speech, and sums them up under the heads of loudness, timbre or quality, pitch, intervals, and rate of variation. He considers that song arose from emphasizing and intensifying these peculiarities. On not one of these heads does he seem to me to succeed in making out his case. The first, loudness, is perhaps the most plausible; but loudness though a frequent is by no means a universal or essential element, either of song or of emotional speech. Still less is musical resonance an essential element of the latter. Many of the tones of excited speech are even more removed from music than those of ordinary speech, as containing a greater number of a high harmonics which produce what we call harshness: and this must have been especially the case among our remote ancestors when the savage emotions were in the ascendant. Even if we take the residue of tones expressing pleasing emotions and having increased resonance of an agreeable kind, and if we accept Mr. Spencer's view of such emotional speech as being prior to music, the fact remains that agreeable sounds are only the material of music; and it is open to us to suppose that our human or semi-human ancestors, having been naturally moved by physiological causes to desert the region of neutral tones in order to be pleasingly emphatic, may have utilised for independent musical purposes the material of increased resonance so discovered and developed, in accordance with the well-known fact that "organs originally adapted for one purpose have been utilised for some quite distinct purpose." It is of course equally open to us, if we accept Mr. Darwin's hypothesis that the power of making musical sounds for sexual purposes in the semi-

> human stage, to suppose that the more resonant sounds, first developed in this elementary love-music and rendered emphatic by the accompanying pleasure, were subsequently employed where emphasis was required for purposes of emotional speech. And, looked at in the light merely of musical material, I can hardly imagine that certain vocal tones are regarded by Mr. Spencer as owing their agreeable quality simply to association with kindness and pleasing emotions. Yet he says, as though it were a *reductio ad absurdum* . . .

496 John Webster, *The White Devil*, V:iii. Summary. In his own copy (DCM) of *The Dramatic Works of John Webster*, ed. William Hazlitt, 4 vols. (London, 1857), II, 115, Hardy marked in the margin Brachiano's words of Flamineo:

> Why 'tis the devil.
> I know him by a great rose he wears on's shoe,
> To hide his cloven foot.

Webster is not explicitly referred to in Hardy's works, but some influence has been detected: see Marcia Lee Anderson, "Hardy's debt to Webster in *The Return of the Native*," *MLN*, LIV (Nov. 1939), 497–501; Pinion, pp. 34, 204. Hardy's live memory of Webster's methods is indicated in a passing reference in a letter to Clodd in 1909 on a stage production of *Far from the Madding Crowd*: "I believe they are going to have Fanny Robin's coffin brought in, & possibly other Websterian details" (Nov. 3, 1909; British Museum).

497 *Ibid.*, II, 119n. Summary from a footnote in Hardy's edition to Lodovico's comment on the strangling of Brachiano (V:iii):

> The stuff is out. No woman-keeper i' th' world,
> Though she had practis'd seven year at the pest-house[1]
> Could have done't quaintlier.

The footnote reads: "In allusion to the stranglings done, to save themselves trouble, by nurses on plague patients."

498 *Ibid.*, II, 124. Summarized from:

> Flam. Study my prayers! he threatens me divinely! I am falling to pieces already. I care not, though like Anacharsis, I were pounded to death in a mortar . . . (V:iv).

Anacharsis (c. 600 B.C.), a hellenized Scythian sage, was killed by his king when he tried to introduce the orgiastic worship of the "Mother of the Gods" (*OCD*).

499 *Ibid.*, II, 130. Quotation:

> Flam. Is't come to this? They say affrights cure agues:
> Thou hast a devil in thee; I will try
> If I can scare him from thee (V:vi).

500 John Pentland Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander* (London, 1874), p. 21. Abridged quotation with variations.

In 1893 Hardy met Mahaffy in Dublin and found him "a rattling, amusing talker" (*Life*, p. 255). That he enjoyed and respected Mahaffy's study of Greek life is evident from the great number of entries based on it, although only two of them seem to have been used fairly directly in Hardy's fiction: see entries 509n and 545n. For other comments on Hardy's interests in Greek matters see "Critical Introduction," p. xxv and entries 307n, 447n, 463n, 464n, 1176n, 1178, 1178n, 1189n.

501 *Ibid.*, p. 22. Summary.

502 *Ibid.*, pp. 6–7. Summary.

The only direct reference to Euripides in Hardy's fiction is in Jude's reading list (*Jude*, p. 41), and Rutland remarks that "it is surprising that so subtle a connoisseur in women's hearts, and at one period of life so persistent a student of the problem of marital relationships upon the emotional, rather than the intellectual, plane, who was withal a student of Greek drama, should not have shown more devotion to the author of the *Medea*" (p. 44). Still, as Rutland himself points out (p. 35), Hardy made the following note in his copy of Euripides: " 'It is far easier to overtop Euripides by the head and shoulders than to come up to the waist of Sophocles or the knee of Aeschylus.' Swinburne. (An old opinion but not true.)." In the light of Hardy's admiration for Aeschylus (entry 169n) and Sophocles (entry 366n), Hardy's disagreement with Swinburne somewhat modifies Rutland's assessment of Hardy's attitude to Euripides. There is also — in relation to *Tess* — the suggestive underlining in Hardy's copy of *Hippolytus* of "Whosoever has chastity, not that which is taught in schools, but that which is by nature" (quoted by Rutland, p. 44).

Hardy's copy of *The Tragedies of Euripides*, trans. T. A. Buckley (London, 1850) is described in the Grolier Club *Catalogue*, p. 3.

503 *Ibid.*, p. 23. Summary and quotation.

504 *Ibid.*, p. 24. Summary.

505 *Ibid.*, p. 24–25. Abridged quotation with variations.

506 *Ibid.*, p. 26. Summary and quotation with variations.

No references to Pindar have been found in Hardy's works. In the DCM there is a copy of *The Extant Odes of Pindar*. tr. Ernest Myer (London and New York, 1895). The title page is autographed "Thomas Hardy," and there are several markings in the volume.

507 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27. Summary and abridged quotation.

508 *Ibid.*, p. 28. Summary.

509 *Ibid.*, p. 31. Extracted from: "As is well known, when a town was captured, the noblest and fairest ladies, whether married or not, became the property of the victors as their concubines. But a still more significant fact has not been adequately noted, that such a fate, though felt as a lamentable misfortune, was in no sense a dishonour to the Greek lady, of which she need afterwards be ashamed."

Hardy may possibly have come across the passage when he re-read some of his old notes in the mid-1890's (see *One Rare Fair Woman*, p. 45), for he incorporated its main idea into his revision of *Tess* for the Osgood, McIlvaine edition (1895), after, that is, the morality of the novel had been so much criticized; in Brazil, Angel becomes self-critical: "His inconsistencies rushed upon him in a flood. He had persistently elevated Hellenic Paganism at the expense of Christianity; yet in that civilization an illegal surrender was not certain disesteem" (Osgood, McIlvaine ed., p. 442). The passage is not in the MS., nor, of course, in the bowdlerized serial version, or in the first edition; it is retained in the Wessex Edition, p. 435.

510 *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34. Summary.

511 *Ibid.*, p. 35. Summary.

512 *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36. Summary and quotation.

513 *Loc. cit.* Summary and quotation with variations.
Mahaffy's observation is a possible stimulus behind a passage in "Candour in English Fiction." Hardy deplores the censorship which excludes a true treatment of the "profounder passions" (Orel, p. 129) and lists well-known masterpieces of the past which would have been condemned if published as fiction in Mrs. Grundy's days. In addition to classical tragedies, Hardy refers to Milton's *Paradise Lost*: "for Milton . . . handles as his puppets the Christian divinities and fiends quite as freely as the Pagan divinities were handled by the Greek and Latin imaginative authors" (Orel, p. 131).

514 *Ibid.*, p. 37. Summary.

515–517 *Ibid.*, p. 39. Summaries and quotations from Mahaffy's exposition of the Homeric picture of Olympian sin and crime, in which Pallas Athene is "the one typical character which . . . the poems place in the foreground as the Greek ideal of intelligence and power of the highest order."

518 *Ibid.*, p. 43. Summary.

519 *Ibid.*, p. 45. Summary.

520 *Ibid.*, p. 46–47. Summary.

521 *Ibid.*, p. 48. Summary and quotation with variations.

522 This is a skeleton outline of the various periods into which Mahaffy divides his social history.

Hardy's finest tribute to Sappho is in his poem on Swinburne, "A Singer Asleep," where she is Swinburne's "singing-mistress" and "the music-mother/Of all the tribe that feel in melodies" (VI). Many years earlier Hardy had written to Swinburne about his own attempts at translating Sappho: " '. . . one day, when examining several English imitations of a well-known fragment of Sappho, I interested myself in trying to strike out a better equivalent for it than the commonplace "Thou, too, shalt die," etc., which all the translators had used during the last hundred years. I then stumbled upon your "Thee, too, the years shall cover," and all my spirit for poetic pains died out of me. Those few words present, I think, the finest *drama* of Death and Oblivion, so to speak, in our tongue' " (*Life*, p. 287).

Hardy's "spirit for poetic pains" on the subject was, however, strong enough to leave his "Sapphic Fragment," which includes his rendering of the line in question. The poem is written in Hardy's hand at the bottom of p. 113 of his copy of *Sappho: Memoir, Text, Selected Renderings, and a Literal Translation* by Henry Thornton Wharton, 3rd ed. (London, 1895). On p. 144 of the same edition is found "For there was no other girl, O bridegroom, like her," which Hardy used as an epigraph to part III of *Jude* (p. 152).

Other allusions to Sappho in Hardy's works are found in *The Hand of Ethelberta* (pp. 22, 56) and in *The Return of the Native*, where Eustacia's profile "was as though side shadows from the features of Sappho and Mrs. Siddons had converged upwards" (p. 62). The allusion to Sappho was not inserted until the Osgood, McIlvaine edition (1895). The MS. has Marie Antoinette and Lord Byron (f. 60), as does *Belgravia*, XXXIV (Feb. 1878), 493. In the first edition the comparison is to Marie Antoinette and Mrs. Siddons (I, 120).

On Hardy and Sappho see also *One Rare Fair Woman*, p. 42.

523 *Ibid.*, p. 91. Summary.

524 *Ibid.*, p. 104. Summary and quotation with slight variations.
Anacreon is alluded to in *The Hand of Ethelberta*, p. 54.

525 *Ibid.*, pp. 104–05. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

526 *Ibid.*, p. 106. Summary.

527 *Ibid.*, p. 109. Comment and quotation.

528 *Ibid.*, p. 108. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.
Possibly, Eustacia's attitude towards money can be seen as one of her "Hellenic" attributes: "Though she was no lover of money she loved what money could bring" (*The Return of the Native*, p. 355). See also entry 500n.

529 *Ibid.*, p. 107. Quotation with variations.

530 *Ibid.*, p. 109. Abridged quotation with variations. See also entry 528n.

531 *Ibid.*, p. 111. Abridged quotation with variations.

532 *Ibid.*, p. 112. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.
Eustacia's pronounced selfishness may also be one of her typically "Hellenic" characteristics: see also entries 500n and 528n.

533 *Ibid.*, p. 114. Abridged quotation.

534 *Ibid.*, p. 115. Abridged quotation with variations.

535 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

536 *Ibid.*, p. 59. Summary and quotation with variations.

537 *Ibid.*, p. 67. Abridged quotation with variations.

538 *Ibid.*, p. 65. Quotation with variations.

539 *Ibid.*, p. 66. Summary.

540 *Ibid.*, p. 70. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

541 *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71. Summary.

542 *Ibid.*, p. 81. Abridged quotation with variations.
For a brief general note on Hardy and democracy, see entry 1137n.

543 *Ibid.*, p. 88. Abridged quotation with variations.

544 *Ibid.*, p. 115. Summary and comment.

545 *Ibid.*, p. 118. Summary.
Mahaffy's observation on Homer is repeated in *Two on a Tower*: "Love between man and woman, which in Homer, Moses, and other early exhibitors of life, is mere desire, had for centuries past so far broadened as to include sympathy and friendship" (p. 257).

546 *Ibid.*, pp. 120–21. Summary with key phrases quoted.

547 *Ibid.*, p. 121. Summary.

548 *Ibid.*, p. 128. Summary from Mahaffy's argument that the age of the tyrants in Greece was a period of "social and moral stagnation" and in "social life even retrogression" (p. 132); that this general degeneration was reflected in literary and other intellectual activities: "There was no time for Platonic dialogues, no taste for the quiet comforts of home life. The ribald scenes in Aristophanes were meant to satisfy far different wants" (p. 128).

549 *Ibid.*, p. 134. Summary and quotation with slight variations.
Mahaffy's conclusion that "this transference of residence from the country into town must have affected private life severely" (p. 136) points to a common enough theme in Hardy's fiction, perhaps most clearly dramatized in the lives of the Chickerel family in *The Hand of Ethelberta.*

550 *Ibid.*, p. 140. Abridged quotation with variations.

551 *Ibid.*, p. 144. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

552 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with variations. Cf. entry 475n.

553 *Ibid.*, p. 159. Summary and quotation with variations.

554 *Ibid.*, p. 161. Summary.

555 *Ibid.*, p. 165. Summary.

556 *Ibid.*, p. 166–68. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

557 *Ibid.*, p. 169. Quotation with Hardy's underlining and summary.

558 *Ibid.*, pp. 171–72. Summary and abridged quotation with variations.

559 *Ibid.*, p. 175. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining and annotation.

560 *Ibid.*, p. 177. Summary with key phrases quoted.

561 *Ibid.*, p. 179. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

562 *Ibid.*, p. 200. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

563 *Ibid.*, p. 208. Summary. The entry is in pencil, but the underlining in ink.

564 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

565 *Ibid.*, p. 217. Abridged quotation with variations.

566 *Ibid.*, pp. 220–26. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

567 *Ibid.*, p. 233. Comment and quotation with variations. The parenthetical comment is added in pencil.

568 *Ibid.*, p. 234. Abridged quotation with variations.

569 *Ibid.*, p. 238. Summary.

570 *Ibid.*, p. 244. Comment and abridged quotation with variations.

571 *Loc. cit.* Summary and quotation.

572 *Ibid.*, p. 245. Summary.

573 *Ibid.*, p. 246. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

574 *Ibid.*, p. 250. Comment and summary.

575 *Ibid.*, pp. 314–15. Summary with key phrases quoted.

576 *Ibid.*, p. 317. Abridged quotation with variations.

577 *Ibid.*, p. 321. Comment and abridged quotation with variations.

578 *Ibid.*, p. 323. Summary with key phrases quoted.

Mahaffy refutes this theory categorically, especially as to the immorality of the mythological stories: "The immoral elements in the Greek Epos were . . . *late additions* to the old beliefs about the gods, and invented by the rhapsodists to please the tastes of a luxurious and corrupt age" (p. 326.)

579 *Ibid.*, p. 350. Abridged quotation with variations.

The references to Moses in Hardy's works are not as positive as here. Moses's view of love is noted in entry 545n. In *Jude*, as the stern Jewish law-giver, he is made to symbolize the oppressiveness of Christian morality the novel's castigation of which is echoed even by Arabella: "There's nothing like bondage and a stone-deaf taskmaster for taming us women. . . . Moses knew" (p. 384).

580 *Ibid.*, pp. 382–83. Summary with key phrases quoted.

581 John Morley, "M. Taine's New Work," *Fort. Rev.*, XIX (March 1, 1876), 377; Morley, *Works*, XII, 319. Comment and quotation from Morley's somewhat critical review of Taine's *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine*, vol. I (Paris, 1876). Morley questions the wisdom of a literary man writing history, since, he argues, "the genius for literature in its proper sense is distinct from the genius for political history" (p. 370; *Works*, p. 308). This becomes evident, Morley maintains, when one analyzes the major doctrines of the French Revolution and finds that Taine has not fully grasped their political aspects; nor has Taine gone "back nearly far enough in his search for the intellectual origins . . . of his contemporary France" (p. 376; *Works*, p. 318). Taine has missed, Morley continues, the "decisive truth" about the "speculative precursors of the Revolution," Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot. For example, "it is surely going too far to say that Montesquieu's Persian Letters contained every important idea of the century. Does it, for instance, contain that thrice fruitful idea . . . ."

Hardy was introduced to Taine in 1889 and found him "a kindly, nicely trimmed old man with a slightly bent head" (*Life*, p. 219). The year before, criticizing "the novelists of social minutiae," Hardy had quoted Taine's *History of English Literature* for support: " 'They are far removed . . . from the great imaginations which create and transform. They renounce free invention; they narrow themselves to scrupulous exactness; they paint clothes and places with endless detail' " (Orel, p. 119). Hardy uses another Taine observation in "The Dorsetshire Labourer," see entry 1026n.

582 *Op. cit.*, p. 378; Morley, *Works*, XII, 320. Abridged quotation with variations.

Rousseau is among Hardy's French "immortals" (Orel, p. 140), but only in two places is he explicitly referred to in Hardy's works, and on both occasions

he is evoked as the stereotype man of sentiment. Thus, in *The Return of the Native*, Wildeve's tendency "to care for the remote, to dislike the near," links him to Rousseau: "This is the true mark of the man of sentiment. Though Wildeve's fevered feeling had not been elaborated to real poetical compass, it was of the standard sort. He might have been called the Rousseau of Egdon" (p. 254). The passage went through some revisions between the MS, and the Wessex Edition, but the allusion to Rousseau was maintained. The same conventional allusion occurs in "The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid" as baron von Xanten reveals "himself to be a melancholy, emotional character — the Jacques of this forest and stream," *A Changed Man*, p. 344. The MS. (f. 52) and periodical versions have "sentimental or emotional."

Hardy owned an 1873 edition of Rousseau's *Confessions* (Wreden, p. 30) and also John Morley's *Rousseau*, 2 vols. (1891 reprint of the 2nd ed; originally pub. 1873). In the light of Hardy's sociological interests (see esp. entries 1n and 618n) it may be relevant to note here that Hardy marked in his own copy (DCM), and apparently in agreement, Morley's stricture on Rousseau as a social thinker: "Thus the modern question which is of such vital interest for all the foremost human societies, of the union of collective energy with the encouragement of individual freedom, is, if not wholly untouched, at least wholly unillumined by anything that Rousseau says" (II, 187). See also entry 706.

583 R. W. Dale, "The Disestablishment Movement," *Fort. Rev.*, XIX (March 1, 1876), 316n. Quotation with slight variations from a footnote to the author's consideration of "the whole condition of the nation" and how this has vitally changed: "At the present moment half the population appear to have given up attendance at public worship altogether. Of the remaining half, the national Church can claim only a doubtful majority. The number of those who, even on the occasion of marriage, accept the office of the national clergy is steadily declining" (pp. 315–16).

584 John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset* (3rd. ed. London, 1861), 1, "Introduction," p.ii. Summary and quotation.

Hardy's copy of this edition is in the DCM. It is signed "Thomas Hardy" on the title page of vol. I, and has many markings and marginal annotations. For illuminating information on, and discussions of, Hardy's research into, and creative use of, Hutchins, see especially C. J. P. Beatty, "Two Rare Birds in Hardy's 'The Return of the Native,' " *N&Q*, VIII n.s. (March, 1961), 98–99; Millgate, pp. 248, 266, 331–32; the numerous references in Pinion; Purdy, pp. 66–67, 156, 213, 299; Southerington, pp. 242–43.

585 Unidentified.

586 Hutchins (see 584n), I, ii. Summary.

587 *Ibid.*, I, viii-ix, n. Summary and quotation with variations.

Richard of Cirencester (d. 1401?), chronicler. Charles Bertram (1723—65); his forgery was not exposed definitely until 1866—67, by B. B. Woodward in the *Gentleman's Magazine*; William Stukeley (1687—1765), the antiquary, published *De Situ Britanniae* in 1757 (DNB).

588 *Ibid.*, I, xi. Summary and quotation.

589 *Ibid.*, I, xi. Summary and quotation.

590 *Ibid.*, I, xvi. Summary and parenthetical annotation. For "Warren Hastings" see Index, "Hastings."

591 *Ibid.*, I, 39. Comment and summary with quotation as indicated.

592 *Ibid.*, I, 80. Summary, quotation, and comment. Sir Anthony Ashley (1621—83), first Baron Ashley and first Earl of Shaftesbury, is included by Hardy in his survey of Dorset men who "added distinction to London in past times" (Orel. p. 223).

593 *Ibid.*, I, 456. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

On the same page the name "Eustachia" is underlined. Hardy identifies the source of the name of his fictional heroine in the *Life* (p. 117).

594 *Ibid.*, I, 330—31. Comment, summary, and quotation.

595 *Ibid.*, I, 249. Comment and abridged quotation with variations.

596 *Ibid.*, I, 701. Summary.

597 *Ibid.*, I, 164. Summary.

Hardy recalls this precaution when describing Christian Cantle's anxiety as he carries the large sum of money from Mrs. Yeobright to Clym and Thomasin: "He paused and thought of the money he carried. It was almost too early even for Christian seriously to fear robbery; nevertheless he took a precaution which ever since his boyhood he had adopted whenever he carried more than two or three shillings upon his person — a precaution somewhat like that of the owner of the Pitt Diamond when filled with similar misgivings" (p. 259). In the early versions of the novel, the MS. (f. 251), *Belgravia*, XXXV (July, 1878), 15, and the first

edition (II, 192), the term "Pitt or Regency Diamond" (as in the entry) is used. The "Regency Diamond" allusion was deleted for the Osgood, McIlvaine edition (1895).

598 *Ibid.*, III, 396 and 634. Summaries. The annotation about the register may possibly be seen as a separate entry, but it looks like a later addition, inserted at the bottom of the page of the notebook.

599 *Ibid.*, III, 397. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

600 Unidentified, despite extensive search in Hutchins. The reference is possibly misleading.

601 Hutchins, I, "Introduction: Ornithology," p. cxv, by J. C. Mansel-Pleydel. Comment and summary.

602 John Timbs, *Things not Generally Known, Familiarly Explained: A Book for Old and Young* (London, 1856), p. 46. Summary.

Hardy owned a copy of this very popular book (7th ed. in 1858), and he also had Timbs's *Popular Errors* (1876): see Wreden, items 439–40.

603 *Ibid.*, p. 62. Summary.

604 *Ibid.*, pp. 82–83. Comment and summary.

For Hardy's use of this entry in *The Return of the Native*, see "Critical Introduction," p. xx.

605 *Ibid.*, p. 104. Comment and quotation with variations.

606 *Ibid* , p. 107. Abridged quotation with variations.

607 Unidentified. The entry is in pencil.

608 Charles Mackay, *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds*, 2nd ed. (London, 1852), II, viii. Page references (entries 611–14) also tally with the 3rd ed. (2 vols. in one, 1869), but not with the 1st ed. (3 vols., 1841). Summary. The entry is in pencil.

Richard Porson (1759–1808), English classical scholar.

609 *Ibid.*, p. 263. Summary.

610 *Loc. cit.* Summary and quotation.

611 *Ibid.*, I, 100. Comment and summary. For Hardy's use of this entry in *The Return of the Native*, see "Critical Introduction," pp. xx–xxi.

612 *Ibid.*, I, 101. Comment and summary.

613 *Ibid.*, II, 275. Summary.

Hardy saw a similarity between the Coup de Jarnac and Diggory Venn's manner of causing Wildeve's fall on his way back from Eustacia: "Although his [Wildeve's] weaknesses were not specially those akin to physical fear, this species of *coup-de-Jarnac* from one he knew well troubled the mind of Wildeve" (*The Return of the Native*, p. 318).

614 *Ibid.*, II, 280. Summary and quotation with variations.

615 John Addington Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, Second Series (London, 1876), p. 217. Comment and summary. The entry is in pencil. For a brief general note on Symonds, see entry 167n.

616 *Ibid.*, p. 223. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

617 *Ibid.*, p. 238. Comment and abridged quotation.

For a brief general note on Hardy's views on the relationship between character and fate, see entry 1289n.

618 Auguste Comte, "Preface," *Social Dynamics, or the General Theory of Human Progress*, Vol. III of *System of Positive Polity* (London, 1876), p. xi. Vol. III, trans., rev., and ed. by Edward Spencer Beesly et. al. Comment and quotation with parenthetical annotation.

The wide interest in sociological questions in general which Hardy's works demonstrate is specifically reflected in a great number of "Literary Notes": see, for instance, entries 984–86, 1062–63, 1193, 1216, 1221–27, 1294–96, 1328–30, in addition, that is, to the many notes from the 19th century father of sociology, Auguste Comte. There is more material from his *System of Positive Polity* in the "Literary Notes" than from any other single work. For a sound warning against any extreme sociological excursions into Hardy's writing, however, see J. C. Maxwell, "The 'Sociological' Approach to *The Mayor of Casterbridge*," in *Imagined Worlds: Essays in Honour of John Butt*, ed. M. Mack and Ian Gregor (London, 1968), 225–35.

Hardy owned Comte's *A General View of Positivism*, trans. J.H. Bridges (London, 1865). The copy is now in the Purdy Collection. The book was probably given to Hardy by his friend Horace Moule, for the title page has two autographs: "H.M. Moule" and "Thomas Hardy".

Hardy freely acknowledged his reading in Comte (see "Critical Introduction," p. xxvi). In addition to his firsthand knowledge of the French Positivist, Hardy read the major English exponents of him: John Stuart Mill (entry 1190n), George Eliot (entry 1298n), G.H. Lewes (entry 105n), Harriet Martineau (entry 984n), John Henry Bridges (entry 487n), Edward Spencer Beesly (see below), John Morley (entry 418n), and Frederic Harrison (entry 1213n). The three last mentioned Hardy knew personally. That Hardy should have been influenced by this powerful movement and its outstanding spokesmen is not surprising. The extent of the influence may be suggested by Frederic Harrison's appreciative letter on *Tess*, a novel, he maintained, which "reads like a Positivist allegory or sermon" (Harrison to Hardy, Dec. 29, 1891, DCM). Whether or not Harrison's impression is reliable in this matter, Hardy is not likely to have accepted Positivism, or any other ism, uncritically. Some of his scepticism towards Comte may be implied in entry 1076. That, however, Comte and his disciples left an inpact on Hardy is beyond doubt, and an attempt to assess this is made in my forthcoming *Psychological Vision and Social Criticism in the Novels of Thomas Hardy*. See also entries 724–26n and 749n.

On Hardy and Beesly, see G.W. Sherman, "Thomas Hardy and Professor Edward Beesly," *N&Q*, CXCVIII (April 1953), 167–68.

619 *Ibid.*, p. xiii. Summary.

620 *Loc. cit.* Summary with key phrases quoted.

Hardy did not share Comte's confidence in the Idea of Progress. As in the case of many other questions, however, Hardy was somewhat ambiguous, although he seemed predominantly sceptical of the idea in general and of the gradual "humanization" of man in particular. In 1914 he admitted that "the war [The First World War] destroyed all Hardy's belief in the gradual ennoblement of man, a belief he had held for many years, as is shown by poems like 'The Sick Battle-God,' and others. He said he would probably not have ended *The Dynasts* as he did end it if he could have foreseen what was going to happen within a few years" (*Life*, p. 368; see also p. 366 and *One Rare Fair Woman*, pp. 85, 170). A few years later he saw progress possible only in a limited sense: "All development is of a material and scientific kind — and scarcely any addition to our knowledge is applied to objects philanthropic and ameliorative" (June, 1919, *Life*, p. 389). Hardy's belief in progress does not, in fact, seem to have been very strong at any time — but see entry 749n — and his late claim to "evolutionary meliorism" in the "Apology" (1922) is but faintly supported by any public statements. Except for a few poems (*Life*, p. 366), the evidence is against the Idea of Progress, both in his autobiography and his creative writing. In addition to the "Hellenism" issue (see "Critical Introduction," p. xxv), see, for instance, *The Hand of Ethelberta*, p. 64; *The Return of the Native*,

p. 243; *A Laodicean*, pp. 42–43; *Two on a Tower*, p. 257; *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, p. 49. The problem is discussed in more detail in my forthcoming *Psychological Vision and Social Criticism in the Novels of Thomas Hardy.*

621 Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution, Works*, II, 38. Quotations and annotation. The entry is in pencil.

For a general note on Carlyle, see entry 94n, and for Hardy's fictional use of Marie Antoinette, entry 522n.

622 *Ibid.*, II, 39–40. Summary. The entry is in pencil.

623 *Ibid.*, II, 41. The entry is in pencil. Extracted from: "With the working people, again, it is not so well. Unlucky! For there are from twenty to twenty-five millions of them. Whom, however, we lump together into a kind of dim compendious unity, monstruous but dim, far off, as the *canaille*; or, more humanely, as 'the masses.' Masses indeed: and yet, singular to say, . . . the masses consist all of units."

624 *Ibid.*, II, 46. Summary. The entry is in pencil.

625 *Ibid.*, II, 50. Quotation with variations.

626 Charles Mackay, *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* (see entry 608n for edition), II, 106. Summary.

Wierus, ? Johannes Wier (1515–88), physician.

627 John Addington Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, Second Series (London, 1876), p. 378. Summary. For Symonds, see entry 167n; see also entries 615–17.

628 *Ibid.*, p. 383. Comment and quotation.

For a general note on the Idea of Progress, see entry 620n.

629 *Ibid.*, p. 384. Comment on, and abridged quotation from, Symonds's comparison of the Greek and Christian versions of slavery: "An apologist might, indeed, argue that slavery as recognized by the Athenians, was superior to many forms of the same evil till lately tolerated by the Christian nations. Mediaeval villeinage . . . American slave-trade flourished in spite of the theoretical opposition of Christianity. . . ."

630 *Ibid.*, p. 385. Comment and abridged quotation.

631 *Ibid.*, pp. 383ff. Summary and abridged quotation with variations.
For references to Hardy's "Hellenism," see entry 500n.

632 *Ibid.*, p. 389. Summary with key words quoted.
One of Marcus Aurelius's sayings caught Hardy's attention. A note for December 31, 1885 shows Hardy in low spirits but he quotes: " 'This is the chief thing: Be not perturbed; for all things are according to the nature of the universal' " (*Life*, p. 176). Hardy mentions Aurelius as the source, but his attitude to this piece of Roman wisdom is not clearly revealed, and his fictional uses of the quotation are ambiguous, suggesting that he could accept Aurelius's advice philosophically but not emotionally: in *A Laodicean* Somerset receives, after a long and anxious waiting for Paula's answer to his passionate message, an emotionally low-toned letter from her, in which she somewhat flippantly quotes the Roman: "Fie for your despondency! Remember M. Aurelius: 'This is the chief . . .' " (p. 300). In *Tess* Angel Clare remembers the advice in his despondency after the marriage but finds it impossible to follow: " 'This is the chief thing: be not perturbed,' said the Pagan moralist. That was just Clare's own opinion. But he was perturbed" (p. 331).
Hardy owned *The Thoughts of the Emperor*, trans. George Lang (1862); Wreden describes the copy: "Presentation copy from Henry M. Moule, a friend of Hardy — given in memory of his son. Markings and comments by Hardy throughout the work" (item 88).

633 *Loc. cit.* Summary and quotation.

634 *Loc. cit.* Summary and abridged quotation.
Cf. the entries from Comte, 645–769.

635 *Ibid.*, p. 392. Abridged quotation with variations.

636–637 *Ibid.*, pp. 395–96. Abridged quotations with Hardy's underlinings from Symonds's optimistic consideration of how the methods of science can be put to good use in future analyses of morality. Cf. entry 620n.

638 *Ibid.*, p. 398. Summary and abridged quotation.
Wright (p. 7) has drawn attention to the similarity between the concept of determinism and the image of the web in this entry and the philosophy and network imagery of *The Dynasts*.

639 *Ibid.*, p. 399. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

640 Auguste Comte, *Social Dynamics* (see entry 618n), p. 92. Possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

641 *Ibid.*, p. 94. Possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Summary and quotation.

642 *Ibid.*, p. 95. Possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

643 J.A. Symonds, *Studies of the Greek Poets* (see entry 627n), p. 91. E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlinings.

644 *Ibid.*, p. 93. E. Hardy's hand. Summary.

645 Auguste Comte, *Social Dynamics* (see entry 618n), p. 281. Summary with key phrases quoted.

646 *Loc. cit.* Quotation and annotation.

647 *Ibid.*, p. 234. Comment on, and quotation with variations and annotations from, the editor's marginal note.

648 *Ibid.*, p. 238. Comment and quotation with variations.

649 *Loc. cit.* Comment and quotation.

Hardy's comment/rubric is echoed in *The Return of the Native:* "Possibly Clym's fame, like Homer's, owed something to the accidents of his situation" (p. 199).

650 *Ibid.*, p. 236. Summary with quotation and variation from Comte's argument that the "extreme scarcity of great poets" for such a long period in Greece was due to two factors (a) the less favourable influence of Polytheism than Fetichism on art: see entry 647; (b) the system of patronage which degraded the artists.

651 *Ibid.*, p. 240. Summary and quotation with a slight variation. Comte argues that the development of the arts was merely technical; sculpture, however, was en exception, for the reason Hardy notes.

652 *Loc. cit.* Extracted from Comte's continued observations on Greek sculpture: "These two reasons [the public exhibition of nudity (see previous entry) and "an infamous kind of love"] are quite sufficient to explain why beauty was fully appreciated only in its lowest form. The finest statues are idealisations of the human body so remote from true moral or even intellectual elevation that it is characteristic of their heads to be too diminutive for either thought or love."

653 *Ibid.*, pp. 249–50. Summary and abridged quotation.

654 *Ibid.*, p. 253. Comment and summary with abridged quotation.

655 *Ibid.*, p. 261. Summary with abridged quotation.

The Greek mind, Comte argues, "for all its affected cultivation of the science of Morals, was utterly incompetent for the task, owing to an insufficient development of Feeling and even of Activity," but Aristotle was an exception as is shown by his "luminous conception upon the nature of the virtues" — Comte's exposition of which Hardy summarizes.

656 *Ibid.*, p. 264. Abridged quotation from Comte's discussion of the "scientific movement" after Aristotle, which was promoted by the foundation of the museum, "an intervention of a social kind."

657 *Ibid.*, p. 266. Summary.

For a brief general note on Plato, see entry 442n; there are passing references only to Aristotle in Hardy's writing: *Jude*, pp. 41, 78; Orel, p. 34.

658 *Loc. cit.* Comment and quotation with slight variations.

There are passing references to Archimedes in *A Laodicean*, p. 124; to Newton in *Life*, p. 42 and *Two on a Tower*, p. 263.

659 *Ibid.*, p. 267. The first sentence is a quotation with variations from the editor's marginal analysis. The second sentence is not a quotation, despite the quotation marks.

660 *Ibid.*, p. 266. Summary with quotation.

A passing reference to Euclid occurs in *Jude*, p. 183.

661 *Ibid.*, p. 270. Summary with quotations.

662 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

663 *Ibid.*, pp. 274–76. Summary from Comte's discussion of the "Post-Aristotelian Scientific Movement"; Comte emphasizes the importance of harmony between science and theology. The lack of it explains the phenomenon Hardy notes.

664 *Ibid.*, p. 278. Extracted from Comte's sarcastic view of the origin and essence of Monotheism: "Now these men ['a multitude of mere debaters, incapable of creating anything'] ardently rallied around Monotheism because the

vagueness of its synthesis suited their mental debility. They beheld a final faith in what was but a transitional belief, a mere concentration of Polytheism."

665 *Ibid.*, pp. 361–62. Quotation with variations and summary. In his "Positive Theory of the Catholic-Feudal transition; Or General Account of Defensive Monotheism" Comte argues that Aristotle provided the intellectual foundation for Western Monotheism; entry 670 continues this argument.

666 *Ibid.*, p. 353. Quotation with a variation (word-order reversed).

In earlier transitions, Comte maintains, "our intellectual and our active power" have been developed. The "Catholic-Feudal" (or "Affective") transition is "consecrated to the great motor force of human life, Feeling." The three "human faculties" are, according to Comte, Feeling, Intellect, and Activity: see, for instance, pp. 66–67 and the next entry. For some notes on Hardy's psychological interests, see "Critical Introduction," p. xxiv and entry 1n.

667 *Ibid.*, p. 355. Extracted from Comte's "prefatory remarks" on the Catholic-Feudal transition; Comte refers to the "three successive phases of the Absolute Philosophy," which in turn deal with "the three essential parts of human nature" (see previous entry): "Fetichism alone kept emotional life directly in view. Polytheism was more favourable to the intellectual and practical sides of our nature. . . . Monotheism, though always in collision with Intellect, was favourable alternately to Feeling and to Activity. . . ."

668 *Ibid.*, p. 363. Quotation with variations.

Comte's emphasis on the "obvious connection" between St. Paul's theory and the "conception of Aristotle" is noted in entry 670.

669 The quotation marks and the surrounding entries suggest that this entry is from Comte's *Social Dynamics*, but I have been unable to trace it.

There is an interesting link between Pantheism and Fetichism in the evolution of a passage in *Tess*. After Tess's happy singing one Sunday morning at Talbothays, Hardy comments: "And probably the half-unconscious rhapsody was a Fetichistic utterance in a Monotheistic setting" (p. 134). The MS. f. (either f. 144 or 145) is missing. The *Graphic*, 44 (Aug. 1891), 162 has "Pantheistic" instead of "Fetichistic"; the latter term was introduced for the first edition (I, 207). There are a few other echoes of Comtean terms – also found in the "Literary Notes" – in *Tess*, echoes which may have contributed to Frederic Harrison's impression of the novel as a "Positivist allegory" (see entry 618n); see, for instance, in *Tess*: "fetichistic fear" (p. 23); "lives essentially polytheistic" (p. 211).

670 Auguste Comte, *Social Dynamics* (see entry 618n), p. 362. Summary and quotation with variations. Cf. entry 668n.

In Hardy's fiction the protagonists often find the antagonistic forces allied to St. Paul. In *Tess* Alec preaches a sermon "of the extremest antinomian type; on justification by faith, as expounded in the theology of St. Paul" (p. 385); Angel, in his least sympathetic phase, refers to him for moral standards: "Whatever one may think of plenary inspiration, one must heartily subscribe to these words of Paul: 'Be thou an example — in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity" (p. 286). The narrow-minded Torkingham in *Two on a Tower* exhorts Lady Constantine to adhere to her forced promise to her husband ' "St. Paul . . . says, 'An oath for confirmation is an end of all strife' " (p. 26). In *The Return of the Native* Eustacia and Wildeve discuss Clym's unworldly nature: [Eustacia] " 'He's an enthusiast about ideas, and careless about outward things. He often reminds me of the Apostle Paul.' 'I am glad to hear that he's so grand in character as that.' 'Yes; but the worst of it is that though Paul was excellent as a man in the Bible he would hardly have done in real life' " (p. 334). On the function of the biblical imagery in general which is attached to Clym in the second half of the novel, see Millgate, pp. 142–43.

In the Postscript to *The Dynasts* Hardy traces -- perhaps with tongue in cheek — the philosophy of the drama to St. Paul: "Its fundamental principle, under the name of Predestination, was preached by St. Paul. 'Being predestinated' — says the author of the Epistle to the Ephesians, 'Being predestinated according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own Will' . . . the only difference being that externality is assumed by the Apostle rather than immanence" (Orel, p. 145). Hardy's qualification hints at the vast ideological gap between St. Paul and *The Dynasts*, and as Wright points out, Hardy "was by no means portraying the God of St. Paul" (p. 119).

As Hardy states just before the reference to St. Paul that the "philosophy of *The Dynasts*, under various titles and phases is almost as old as civilization" (Orel, p. 145), he may also have remembered Comte's linking of Aristotle's monotheism to St. Paul's theology.

671 *Ibid.*, p. 365. Summary and quotation from an argument which pervades Hardy's writing. For a succinct statement, see, for instance, his note for January 29, 1890: " 'I have been looking for God for 50 years, and I think that if he had existed I should have discovered him' " (*Life*, p. 224).

672 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

673 *Loc. cit.* Despite the quotation marks this is basically a summary with only key phrases quoted.

674 This entry seems to be Hardy's own observation. Hardy ponders on a similar question of terminology in 1899: " 'It would be an amusing fact, if it were not one that leads to such bitter strife, that the conception of a First Cause which the theist calls "God," and the conception of the same that the so-styled atheist calls "no-God," are nowadays almost identical. So that only a minor literary question of terminology prevents their shaking hands in agreement, and dwelling together in unity ever after' " (*Life*, p. 303).

675 Auguste Comte, *Social Dynamics* (see entry 618n), p. 366. Summary.

676 *Ibid.*, p. 373: Hardy's page reference is incorrect. Summarized from Comte's discussion of the "Esthetic aptitude" of Monotheism in the Middle Ages: "With regard to Art strictly so called, the condition most essential to its growth, a standard of life admitting of idealisation, was uniformly and spontaneously fulfilled during the Affective Transition. The mediaeval doctrine was, no doubt, unfavourable to Art. Imagination was repelled alike by Christian reasoning and Christian Revelation."

677 *Ibid.*, p. 376. Summary with key phrases quoted.

678 *Ibid.*, pp. 376–77. Summary and abridged quotation with annotations.

679 *Ibid.*, p. 377. Comment on, and quotation with variations from, Comte's exposition of the anti-altruistic aspect of Monotheism.

680 *Ibid.*, p. 383. Summary and quotation with a slight variation.

In explaining the influence of Monotheism on public life, Comte argues that its doctrine was incompatible with idealistic social engagement: "Anxiety for salvation and zeal for the public good remained . . . irreconcilable" (p. 382). As Catholicism was meant, however, to help to regulate human life also socially, its basic inconsistency is obvious: "No sooner had Christianity triumphed, than two contradictory principles which proved the groundwork for yet further concessions, were generally accepted, save by a few fanatics. First, the Christian type of life was never fully realised, except by the hermits of the Thebaid. These men by narrowing their wants to the lowest standard were able to concentrate their thoughts without remorse or distraction on the attainment of salvation. But absorption in the affairs of heaven was soon seen to be morally as well as physically incompatible with active life. . . ."

681 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's underlining from Comte's continued exposition of Monotheism and public life: "The second fact [see previous entry for context] is that eternal damnation . . . never induced men to abandon their

criminal law, inferior though it was in precision and completeness to the discipline of the church. Indeed in the struggle between the two powers a special sanction was given to the inconsistency. The domain of criminal law was claimed by the ecclesiastical courts, on the ground that the denouncer of sin must be the best judge of crime."

682 *Ibid.*, p. 386. Summary from Comte's consideration of the criteria for selection in society as evidenced in the tendencies towards "Sociocracy" in the Middle Ages.

683 *Ibid.*, p. 390. Summary and quotation with a slight variation. Comte argues that the fourth century "is to be looked on as an interval during which the imperial dictatorship was paralysed, and, as a direct consequence, Catholic feudalism, though not yet actually established, was ready to appear."

684 *Ibid.*, p. 394. Quotation with Hardy's underlining of the editor's annotation. Comte states that the *special* purpose of Catholicism and Feudalism was to emancipate women and labourers (p. 353). The beginning of this special purpose is found already in the fifth century with the phenomenon of St. Bathilde's rise to power.

685 *Ibid.*, p. 401. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

One of the many negative aspects of Monotheism, Comte maintains, was its separation of divinity from humantiy. Polytheism, on the other hand, had "gone very far towards humanising supernatural types" (p. 384); the drawback of Monotheism in this matter was, however, modified by the invocation of saints which "acted favourably on the system of Catholic doctrine, by introducing the precise measure of Polytheism required for the popular acceptance of Monotheism. . . ."

686 *Ibid.*, p. 405. Summary.

687 *Loc. cit.* Quotation from Comte's praise of the aptitude of Feudalism for organization.

688 *Ibid.*, p. 415. Quotation with variations from the editor's annotation to Comte's summary of the "total results of mediaeval history" (p. 414).

689 *Ibid.*, p. 416. Summary with key phrases quoted from Comte's argument as well as the editor's annotation.

690 *Ibid.*, p. 419. Summary and abridged quotation.

691 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with reversed word-order and Hardy's underlining and annotation.

692 *Ibid.*, p. 421. Annotation and abridged quotation from the introductory paragraph to Comte's "Positive Theory of the Western Revolution":

> Under Fetichism . . . the institution of the Family was established. Theocracy, which followed, organised Society upon the double foundation received from Fetichism, confirming the habit of sedentary life, and creating a dominant priestly class. Being however the earliest systematic form of the social community, Theocracy, after having presided over the initial developement of the various human energies, eventually became obstructive to their further decisive advance. The Speculative and Active faculties were unable to obtain sufficient scope except in populations where an ardour for conquest had at an early stage transformed Conservative into Progressive Polytheism. This indispensable evolution was accomplished in Antiquity by two successive Transitions, both mainly confined to the Western world: the intellectual career of Greece, and the practical career of Roman civilisation. By the first of these Transitions the West became disengaged from Theocracy, and by the second it received a powerful impulse towards Sociocracy.

693 *Ibid.*, p. 426. Annotation and abridged quotation from Comte's over-all analysis and evaluation of the "Modern Revolution." As Hardy's rubric suggests, he applies Comte's far-reaching perspective on the entire "Modern Revolution" to the French Revolution specifically:

> But the final systematisation of morality was to depend upon a synthetic study of the Inorganic World, Life, and Society; and this could be attained only after long and severe labours. We must then regard the Revolution which commenced in the fourteenth century throughout the West as consisting principally in the renovation of the human understanding by the complete and final substitution of relative for absolute conceptions. . . . Losing its ancient principles, without finding new ones, human reason was compelled to construct provisionally a negative doctrine of unexampled nature, which endeavoured to erect into a system the absence of all rule.

694 *Ibid.*, pp. 390, 427. Summary.

695 *Ibid.*, p. 428. Comment and summary with quotation.

696 *Ibid.*, p. 429. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

Western Monotheism, Comte reasons, was in opposition to the three "essential divisions" of the Final Synthesis, "obstructing physical, intellectual and moral laws alike" (p. 429). A radical destruction of it was therefore a necessity, and it

started in the 13th century: "Without such complete emancipation, which might be summed up in dropping the fundamental dogma of Theism, the West would have kept floating interminably between anarchy and retrogression, in a series of vain compromises as injurious to order as to progress. This was in effect felt by many energetic thinkers from the thirteenth century downwards, a century which was in all respects the direct precursor of the Western Revolution."

697 *Ibid.*, p. 430. Summary.

In the course of the Western Revolution, Comte maintains, some monastic orders might have taken an active part to guide "the spontaneous tendency, already active in Women, to convert the prevailing adoration of the Virgin into a direct preparation for the Worship of Humanity."

698 *Ibid.*, p. 431. Quotation, with Hardy's underlining, and summary from Comte on the emergence of the Western Revolution: "The modern Revolution being principally an intellectual one, it is not surprising that the chief perturbations which marked its career should at first have arisen out of the speculative interregnum which grew up after the failure of Theologism and lasted up to the advent of Positivism."

699 *Ibid.*, p. 475. Comment and summary.

700 The exact source is uncertain, but the entry seems a summary of Comte's discussion on p. 497.

701 *Ibid.*, p. 504. Quotation with a slight variation and Hardy's underlining.

702 *Ibid.*, pp. 259, 504. On p. 504 Comte refers back to pp. 259 and 483. Hardy first quotes (with some changes and underlining) from the editor's marginal annotation on p. 259 and then concludes the entry with a summary based on pp. 483 and 504.

703 *Ibid.*, p. 504. Summary and quotation. Hardy's page reference is incorrect.

704 *Ibid.*, p. 506. Summary.

705 *Ibid.*, p. 507. Summary from Comte's consideration of Biology: "When once Relativity combined with Subjectivity had become the accepted principle of Cosmology, the philosophical foundations were laid for Biology. . . ."

For "Subjectivity," see entries 733–38.

706 *Ibid.*, p. 511. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

For general notes on Voltaire, see entry 52n; on Rousseau, entry 582n.

707 *Ibid.*, p. 512. Comment and quotation.

"The *Contrat Social*" should possibly be a separate entry, or perhaps belong to the previous entry, if it were not for the fact that it is written together with entry 707 in the manuscript. The title appears on p. 511 in the same paragraph from which the preceding entry is drawn, and in which Comte argues that one of the reasons for the "fatal direction" of the social upheaval of the French Revolution was that the Revolution was presided over by Rousseauists, and that "the *Contrat Social* inspired more trust and veneration than ever were commanded by the Bible and the Koran" (p. 511).

Another reason for the "fatal direction," according to Comte, was the personal inadequacies of Louis XVI, here noted by Hardy.

708 *Ibid.*, p. 513. The first sentence is a summary with key phrases quoted, the second a quotation with variations.

709 *Ibid.*, p. 515. Summary.

Hardy marked many passages of political and social interest as well as criticisms of religious superstition in his own copy of John Morley's *Diderot and the Encyclopaedists* (see also entry 418n). Hardy's only partial acceptance of Diderot's ideas is reflected in the Preface to *Jude the Obscure*. Explaining the themes of the novel, Hardy argues that the "general drift" of the story "on the domestic side" tended to "show that, in Diderot's words, the civil law should be only the enunciation of the law of nature (a statement that requires some qualifications, by the way) . . ." (Orel, p. 34).

For Hardy on nature see also his letter to *The Academy and Literature* on a review of Maeterlinck's *Apology for Nature* (*Life*, pp. 314–15).

710 *Loc. cit.* Despite the quotation marks this is a paraphrase with only the first five words actually quoted. The page reference is incorrect.

Comte's observation here follows his eulogy of the Dantonians for having – in their search for a "true religion" (see entry 711) – substituted "the subjective for the objective" (see entries 734–35) and "abandoned the adoration of the outer world in order to give predominance to the human type." Their experiment "shines in marked contrast with the frivolity of the Voltaireans, who evaded the problem on the plea that it was useless, and with the vanity of the Rousseauists, who thought it was solved when the inconsequent rationalism of the Protestants had been extended to Revelation."

711 *Ibid.*, pp. 515–16. Abridged quotation with variations and annotations. In the original the first part of the material precedes Hardy's note in the previous entry.

712 *Ibid.*, pp. 516–17. Comment and quotation with variations.

713 *Ibid.*, p. 518. Summary and abridged quotation.

714 *Ibid.*, p. 519. Comment, quotation, and summary.

In Kant Hardy seems to have found philosophical support for his antipathy for "realism" in art (cf. "Critical Introduction," pp. xxiff): " 'We don't always remember as we should that in getting at the truth, we get only at the true nature of the impression that an object, etc., produces on us, the true thing in itself being still, as Kant shows, beyond our knowledge' " (*Life*, pp. 247–48).

715 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

716 *Ibid.*, p. 521. Comment, quotation, and annotations.

717 *Ibid.*, p. 524. Summary and abridged quotation.

718 *Ibid.*, p. 532. Quotation with Hardy's underlining and annotation.

For a brief general note on Hardy and the Idea of Progress, see entry 620n.

719 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

720 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

721 *Ibid.*, p. 535. Comment and abridged quotation.

722 *Ibid.*, pp. 533–34. Summary with key phrases quoted.

723 *Ibid.*, p. 536. Summary and quotation.

724–26 *Ibid.*, p. 8. Extracted from the first two paragraphs of Chapter I:

> The general results of the last volume [*Social Statics, or the Abstract Theory of Human Order* (London, 1875), see entry 618n] may be thus summed up; – the normal type of Human Existence is one of complete unity. All progress therefore, whether of the individual or of the race, consists in developing and consolidating that unity.
>
> Looked at in this light, the Social Series is but a prolongation of the true Animal Series. The terms of the first indeed are successive,

> while those of the second are simultaneous. But in both alike we find a continually increasing complexity which would involve a conflict of the component elements if it was not always accompanied by an increasing perfection of general unity.

The idea of unity Hardy also found in Darwin, and he drew ethical conclusions from it (see entry 895n).

Hardy's ambiguous, perhaps sceptical, attitude towards Clym's optimistic culture scheme in *The Return of the Native* is to some extent elucidated by the fact that Clym seems to contradict the views Hardy quotes from Comte on the importance of unity in human progress (if, that is, the meaning Clym attaches to "uniformity" in this context can be considered fairly close to that of Comte's "unity"). Clym argues with the doubtful Eustacia: " 'There is hope yet. . . . I wish people wouldn't be so ready to think that there is no progress without uniformity' " (p. 243). Cf. entry 747n.

727–28 *Ibid.*, p. 9. Summarized and quoted from Comte's explanation of the relationship between the "statical elements" of human nature and the "dynamical laws": "The statical elements of our nature being three in number, Feeling, Intellect, and Activity, we might expect that there would be as many dynamical laws to correspond to them. But we remark for the present, that they are necessarily reducible to two, one for the Intellectual, and the other for the Practical development." The reason, according to Comte, why there is no law for the Affective evolution, is that "the Affective region of the brain has not like the regions of Contemplation and Action any direct contact with the external world, but receives its impressions at second hand through those groups of organs. Hence the mutual influence of contemporary families and of successive generations cannot directly modify our propensities. It affects them only by means of the changes which it works in our thoughts and actions."

The diagram is Hardy's own; cf. with his psychological charts in entry 1.

Comtean psychological terms are possibly reflected in *The Hand of Ethelberta:* "Faith was one in whom the meditative somewhat overpowered the active faculties" (p. 44). If this description owes anything to Comte it is not to his *Social Dynamics*, for although, judging from their chronological disorder, the entries from this work are based on old notes, *Social Dynamics* was not published until 1876, the year after the publication of *The Hand of Ethelberta*. Hardy had, however, read Comte before: explaining why some critics had attributed the anonymously published *Far from the Madding Crowd* to George Eliot, Hardy conjectured "as a possible reason for the flattering guess, that he had latterly been reading Comte's *Positive Philosphy*, and writings of that school, some of whose expressions had thus passed into his vocabulary . . ." (*Life*, p. 98).

For such echoes from Comte in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, see entry 730n.

729 *Ibid.*, p. 9. Comment and quotation.

730 *Ibid.*, p. 15. Abridged quotation with reversed word-order and Hardy's underlining.

Hardy here notes Comte's recapitulation of his "leading views . . . with regard to the permanent *constitution* of the Intellect," discussed in vol. II of his *System of Positive Polity:*

> The whole economy of the human mind is subject to that general law prevailing throughout the Real Order, according to which the nobler phenomena are everywhere subordinate to those which are grosser but also simpler and more regular. Thus it is that Man is entirely subordinate to the World, as each living being is to its own environment. Now by a legitimate extension of this Biological dependence to the Mental functions, we at once get the essential principle of the Intellectual Economy (ii. 310–318). For it consists in the necessary and continual subordination of our Subjective Conceptions to the Objective Materials from which they are constructed; a truth substantially established by Aristotle in the aphorism: *There is nothing in the Understanding that did not originally spring from Sensation*; elucidated by the addition of Leibnitz: *except the Understanding itself*; and completed by Kant's distinction between *Objective and Subjective Reality*. But from the Biological point of view, this dependence of Intellect on Sensation is perfectly analogous to that of the bodily Functions upon the environment which controls the whole vital Existence.

An example of the possible influence from Comte on *Far from the Madding Crowd* that Hardy acknowledged (see entry 728n) is noticeable in a description of Bathsheba, which incorporates the idea of "Biological Dependence" of the present entry: "Bathsheba was in a very peculiar state of mind, which showed how entirely the soul is the slave of the body, the ethereal spirit dependent for its quality upon the tangible flesh and blood" (p. 407). Cf. also entries 750 and 1292 for similar views.

731 *Loc. cit.* Quotations with slight variations and Hardy's annotation. The rubric is quoted from the editor's marginal annotation. For context, see the previous entry.

732–33 *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18. Summarized from Comte's observations on what he calls "the second condition of Mental Harmony" (explained by the editor as "Mental Images are weaker than External Impressions," p. 16; the first condition is that "Thought depends on Sensation," p. 15):

> The Intellect is in a state of continual balance between two opposing forces, tending to make it, the one too passive, the other

> too active. On the one hand it has to reflect faithful impressions of the External World, and on the other to construct the link for them without which they would remain incoherent. Now to reconcile these conflicting tasks would often be found impossible if *recollections* could become as forcible and distinct as *sensations*.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Although the second condition of Mental Harmony is of no use except to complete the first, and notwithstanding that both of them spring from the same natural source, they are so far distinct that their habitual coexistence may be interrupted. Madness, properly so called, is such an interruption, being always characterised by excess of Subjectivity, as Idiocy is by a deficiency of it. Not that in madness the World Without ceases to furnish the materials for the construction going on Within; for in dreams and the wildest delirium, the external origin of the elements worked up by the brain can always be traced. The derangement consists solely in the fact, that in consequence of too great cerebral excitement, the recollections become more vivid and distinct than the sensations.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> On the one hand, a suitable subordination of the Subjective to the Objective marks the normal state of every mind. On the other hand, the Subjective really governs the Objective in certain pathological cases, some intermittent, others continuous. Thus . . . the subordination of the mind to the outer world may exist in many different degrees between the two opposite extremes of idiocy and madness. . . .

734 *Ibid.*, p. 20. Summary with key phrases quoted from Comte's continued discussion of mental harmony.

735 *Ibid.*, p. 21. Summary.

736 *Ibid.*, p. 23. Summary and quotation with slight variations.
For context, see annotation for entries 737–39.

737–39 *Ibid.*, p. 25. The entries are a mixture of summaries and quotations. To indicate the original contexts and interrelationships of entries 736–42, a brief resumé of the aspects of Comte's argumentation on which the entries draw is here attempted. In explaining "the dynamical law which governs our gradual [intellectual] progress" (p. 22) from the Primitive to the Normal state, Comte expounds his famous theory of the three stages in the intellectual development of mankind: "Seen in its full completeness the fundamental law of the Intellectual Evolution consists in the necessary passage of all human theories through three successive stages: first, the Theological or fictitious, which is provisional; secondly, the Metaphysical or abstract, which is transitional; and thirdly, the Positive or scientific, which alone is definitive" (p. 23).

During the first stage the "craving for a complete harmony between conceptions and observations" (p. 23) was satisfied by a "fictitious synthesis," which, unable to discover laws, conceived of "all phenomena as produced by Wills analogous to our own, and for the most part superior to ours only in a degree proportioned to their effects" (p. 24).

Hardy's entries focus on Comte's elaboration on the tendency towards a fictitious synthesis in the first, the Theological, stage:

> Every attempt to speculate as to events the *laws* of which are not yet known, naturally aspires to determine their *causes*, and this always leads to the hypothesis of Directing Wills. We cannot escape this twofold tendency except by abstaining from speculation, and that is not always possible or even proper. Whatever maturity human reason may attain, every one will find himself always prone to think of inanimate matter as animate, in order to supply the shortcomings of *law* by *cause*.
>
> Nor is it only when some passion impels us to speculations which we might avoid, that this disposition shows itself. It is just as strong when there is the best reason for our inquiries, as long as the laws relating to them remain unknown. The anarchy of the West at the present day furnishes too many examples of such a tendency in social speculations, these being often taken up by men who do not recognise any necessary law of social phenomena, and so treat them all as produced by arbitrary Wills, either divine or human.
>
> Substantially this primitive logic amounts to a substitution of meditation for contemplation, as in the Final State. The only difference is that the subjective guess has no objective basis, which is as unattainable then for Laws as it would be useless in the quest for Causes. Speculation at this stage, instead of being stimulated from without, is prompted by Feeling, the only incentive adapted to such inquiries.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> This process is not only inevitable but indispensable. No other could stir the intellect from its primitive torpor, because it affords the only means possible at that time for connecting our observations with each other. True, no conception can be real or durable unless it has an objective basis, and that is why our first synthesis is necessarily chimerical and transient, in so far as it is purely fictitious. But on the other hand, *some* theory is as indispensable for observation as for prevision. No fact can be remembered while isolated; oftener than not it escapes notice, as is the case with many physical events, celestial and even terrestial, which have no interest for man (pp. 24–25).

Despite its basic inadequacy, the fictitious synthesis has been — and still is — of considerable value, Comte argues:

> To speak generally, a consideration of the most complex phenomena will be enough to convince us that the fictitious synthesis, which at

> first suited all human speculations, is still, for the majority for men, a moral and intellectual necessity.
>
> In Art its efficacy is still more incontestable than in Speculation and Action, as resulting more directly from its peculiar spontaneity. The primitive belief that all objects are alive and concern themselves with Man is eminently adapted to stimulate and direct ideality, by surrounding us with sympathies which promote the expansion of all our sentiments. So strongly marked is this property of the earliest supernatural faith, that it has been erroneously supposed impossible to obtain an equivalent for it under any other intellectual regime. The Final State however must certainly surpass the Primitive Synthesis even in this respect, as my last volume will prove (pp. 26–27).

Entries 737–42 take notice of the three grounds on which Comte finds the fictitious synthesis to have been necessary: its intellectual aptitude (entries 737–39); its practical aptitude (entry 740); and its aesthetic aptitude (entries 741–42). For the aesthetic aptitude, cf. entry 118n.

740 *Ibid.*, p. 26. Summary with key phrases quoted. For context, see previous annotation.

741 *Ibid.*, p. 27. Summary and abridged quotation with slight variations. For context, see annotation for entries 737–39.

742 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with variations, Hardy's underlining, and annotation. For context, see annotation for entries 737–39.

743 *Ibid.*, p. 28. Comment and quotation with variations.

Having discussed the influence of the fictitious synthesis on the individual (noted in entries 737–41), Comte goes on to consider its impact on society. The fictitious synthesis promotes social progress by providing common opinions, which satisfies man's need for sympathy of opinion: "The essential uniformity of human nature disposes us all to think in the same manner, when our situations are sufficiently similar. . . . Even in the most trifling opinions that we form from our own personal observation of facts, we may every day see how needful to us is the assent of others. Unless we have it we hardly dare trust our own judgment. The serious mental confusion . . . ."

744 *Ibid.*, p. 32. Summary.

Explaining the processes which have taken place between the Theological and the Positive stages (see entries 737–39n), Comte asserts that the "fluctuating condition of the human mind [during the Metaphysical stage] is incompatible with any genuine organising influence, even in speculation, and still more in

action. All the Metaphysical spirit can really effect, is to dissolve the Theological spirit without in any way filling its place, being impotent for construction." The entry also seems to draw on the editor's marginal annotation: "But the latter [the Metaphysical spirit] being purely solvent, must end simultaneously with Theologism."

745 *Ibid.*, p. 33. Summary from Comte's observations on the decline of the Theological spirit.

746 *Ibid.*, p. 35. Summary and quotation. Hardy's page reference is incorrect.

The entry is based on a section in which Comte explains the "Second Sociological Law" (which classifies the sciences). He maintains that each class of speculation must pass through the same three successive stages as man's general intellectual development does (see entries 737–39n). However, "the rate of progress is not the same for all. Hence while some speculations have already become Positive, others still remain Metaphysical or even Theological" (p. 34). It is Comte's continued development of this argumentation that attracts Hardy's attention:

> . . . the order in which our principal theories complete their passage through the three stages is determined by their dependence on each other.
>
> But how comes it that the sciencies are logically dependent on each other in this order? Because there is in nature a corresponding subordination of the phenomena to which they respectively relate. Our theoretic classification is not a thing that can be altered at pleasure, since it is based immutably on a sound philosphy. In framing then our second sociological law, the main point is to determine the natural order of dependence among phenomena. We discern it by applying the fundamental principle: *Decreasing generality, increasing complexity.*

Comte then proceeds to contend that the second sociological law has "two properties belonging to it from the subjective point of view, one moral, the other intellectual" (p. 35). For the intellectual property it means, in the editor's terminology, that "Decreasing Generality is accompanied by Increasing Complexity" (p. 35); for the moral property that "Decreasing Generality is accompanied by Increasing Dignity" (p. 36).

Hardy's reference to p. 54 seems to be to the entries from Bridges in his "Literary Notes," esp. entry 489.

747 *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39. Summary from Comte's remarks on the relationship between the individual and the race in his discussion of the intellectual and moral classes of natural laws:

> Now the life of the Individual would be too narrow a field for this purpose [the discovery of Mental laws], even though we could eliminate from it the influences of Social life. In truth, the progress made by each individual mind is never sufficiently marked even in the choicest intellects to give the clue to the intellectual progress of the race. It is therefore only by the positive study of human progress as a whole that we can discover the real laws of the mind. When these are once found, the individual life furnishes the best possible verification of them, since the individual and social growth must always be essentially similar (pp. 38–39).

Cf. this idea of progress with that voiced by Clym in *The Return of the Native*, quoted in the annotation for entries 724–26.

748 *Ibid.*, p. 44. Comment and quotation; in the original the quotation is italicized.

The entry is based on Comte's summing up of his demonstration of his "Encyclopedic Hierarchy" (see also entry 769):

> Such then is the natural order in which the different classes of human speculation are developed, according to the decreasing generality and simplicity, or increasing dignity of the phenomena they deal with — Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Sociology, Morals. . . .
>
> To establish my Encyclopedic Series, as a complete instrument of historical investigation, one more observation must be made, which is that, its source being objective, it determines the concrete order of Beings or Existences no less than the abstract order of Phenomena. The systematic coordination then of practical conceptions, coincides with that of theoretical conceptions; so that the catenation and classification of the arts are the same as those of the sciences. The Theoretical and Practical aspects may be connected by one general axiom, which completes the Hierarchical Principle, or Law of classification: *The more complicated phenomena become* . . . .

749 *Ibid.*, p. 60. Summary with Hardy's own diagram.

Hardy here notes Comte's elaboration of his theory of the normal variations to be found in the evolution of mankind:

> The first invariable element is the general direction of the progression, whether individual or collective. For Progress is never anything but the simple developement of Order. . . . Retrogression, whether personal or social, can never be anything but partial and temporary, even in exceptional cases. It generally turns out to be a deceptive appearance, resulting from a too minute observation of the human movement, which is always an oscillatory progression. If we concentrate our attention upon one portion of a looped orbit, instead of following its mean path, we may conclude that the general

> direction of the curve is backwards, when it really never ceases to move forwards.

Despite Hardy's general scepticism towards the the Idea of Progress as a whole (see entry 620n), he was attracted enough by Comte's figure of the looped orbit to use it twice in his own writing. In "Candour in English Fiction" (1890), Comte's idea is worked into a broad statement on progress in general and on development in literary and aesthetic matters in particular:

> Things move in cycles; dormant principles renew themselves, and exhausted principles are thrust by. There is a revival of the artistic instincts towards great dramatic motives – setting forth that "collision between the individual and the general" – formerly worked out with such force by the Periclean and Elizabethan dramatists, to name no other. More than this, the periodicity which marks the course of taste in civilised countries does not take the form of a true cycle of repetition, but what Comte, in speaking of general progress, happily characterises as "a looped orbit": not a movement of revolution but – to use the current word – evolution (Orel, pp. 126–27).

Some three decades later Hardy still saw fit to resort to Comte in another paragraph of wide generalization. Having lamented, among other things, the "barbarizing of taste," and the "unabashed cultivation of selfishness in all classes" (Orel, p. 56), Hardy closes the argument of his "Apology" (1922) by expressing a hope for some human progress by a fusion of religion, rationality, and poetry:

> It may indeed be a forlorn hope, a mere dream, that of an alliance between religion, which must be retained unless the world is to perish, and complete rationality, which must come, unless also the world is to perish, by means of the interfusing effect of poetry – "the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; the impassioned expression of science," as it was defined by an English poet who was quite orthodox in his ideas. But if it be true, as Comte argued, that advance is never in a straight line, but in a looped orbit, we may, in the aforesaid ominous moving backward, be doing it *pour mieux sauter*, drawing back for a spring (Orel. pp. 57–58).

Thus, although Hardy does not fully sanction Comte's notion of progress, he does admit the potential truth of it. It may, therefore, have somewhat modified Hardy's scepticism towards the Idea of Progress in general as argued in the annotation for entry 620.

750 *Loc. cit.* Summary from Comte's continued exposition of the invariable progress of Human Evolution: "If we examine the notion of *death* closely, we shall recognise that it only applies directly to corporal existence, or even to mere

vegetative life. It does but indirectly reach the cerebral functions, and that owing to their fatal dependence on the nutritive economy."

Cf. Hardy's reflection on Oct. 18, 1892: " 'I look in the glass. Am conscious of the humiliating sorriness of my earthly tabernacle, and of the sad fact that the best of parents could do no better for me. . . . Why should a man's mind have been thrown into such close, sad, sensational, inexplicable relations with such a precarious object as his own body! ' " (*Life*, p. 251). See also entries 730 and 1292.

751 *Ibid.*, p. 61. Summary from Comte's extended account of what is invariable in Human Evolution: "The order of succession of human phases, whether individual or collective, is so fixed that it holds good even in oscillations which appear to be retrograde. Even in minds where Positivism is most firmly established, strong passion, though not lasting long enough to bring on actual disease, may reproduce for a time the Metaphysical or the Theological state up to the point of primitive Fetichism."

A similar psychological speculation may conceivably be found in Hardy's description of Alec's temporary religious fanaticism in *Tess:*

> It was less a reform than a transfiguration. The former curves of sensuousness were now modulated to lines of devotional passion. The lip-shapes that had meant seductiveness were now made to express supplication; the glow on the cheek that yesterday could be translated as riotousness was evangelized to-day into the splendour of pious rhetoric; animalism had become fanaticism; Paganism Paulinism; the bold rolling eye that had flashed upon her form in the old time with such mastery now beamed with the rude energy of a theolatry that was almost ferocious (pp. 389–90).

To be sure, Alec is no Positivist, but whatever modern phase he belongs to, he suffers a "retrogression" into the Theological stage, and this is mainly due to "strong passion." Furthermore, the term "theolatry" has Comtean overtones.

752 *Ibid.*, p. 66. Summary.

Before Comte offers a detailed analysis of the age of Fetichism, he gives a few "preliminary remarks" to explain the "fundamental theory of the nature of man" (p. 65), which deals with the interrelationships of the three parts of human nature: "Although the universal preponderance of Feeling over Intellect and Activity be sufficiently recognised, a question still remains which if left unsettled might embarrass our historical investigation. Intellect and Activity are the necessary servants of Feeling; but what is their mutual subordination? " (p. 65). Hardy's entries 752–53 note Comte's answer to this question – and his explanation of the aphorism "*Act from affection, and think in order to act*" (p. 65). The answer, Comte reasons, depends on "the form of satisfaction" that Feeling, "the mainspring of our whole existence" (p. 66) craves:

> When we feel an impulse to modify in some way the external world, it is Activity which takes precedence, Intellect being merely its adviser. As this is the most essential and frequent case, the formula for Human Unity contained in the aphorism quoted above had to be drawn up in accordance with it. The first half of that line describes direct Activity in which Courage is predominant; the second, that well considered Activity over which Prudence presides. Although the latter alone is of real use once the operation has become complicated, it must yet be always preceded by the former, not only in order that some sort of solution be provisionally sketched out, but that there may be a sound appreciation of the problem. For the human Intellect, being better fitted to improve. . . .

Cf. with Hardy's psychological charts in entry 1, in which one of Hardy's annotations also points to the advisory character of Intellect, with Feeling ("Passions"), as it seems, in over-all command.

753 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with variations and summary.
For context, see the previous entry.

754 *Ibid.* p. 68. Extracted from Comte's "fundamental distinction between the Fetichistic spirit which looks on all objects in nature as animate, and the Theological spirit which regards them as passively subject to supernatural powers." Of these "two broad divisions of early philosophy," Comte maintains, "the first is superior to the second, not only in spontaneity but also in truth" (p. 68).

Hardy may well have shared Comte's preference, for he endowed both his fictional characters and himself with this particular characteristic of the Fetichistic spirit. Tess's pagan nature, for instance, is — in addition to her "Fetichistic" utterances (see entry 669n) — indicated by her tendency, although under the negative pressure of Christian "moral hobgoblins" to attribute sentiments and voices to her physical environment (p. 108). Hardy admits in a note from February 10, 1897 that, " 'In spite of myself I cannot help noticing countenances and tempers in objects of scenery, e.g. trees, hills, houses' " (*Life*, p. 285). Cf. also entry 760n.

755 *Ibid.*, p. 69. Summary.

756 *Ibid.*, pp. 69–71. A mixture of summary and abridged quotation.

757 *Ibid.*, p. 71. Quotation with Hardy's underlining and incorrect page reference.

758 *Ibid.*, p. 72. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

The reason for the superiority of Fetichism, Comte explains, is that the Fetichistic method "confines itself to the degree of subjectivity which is indispensable to us," whereas the Theological method "becomes much more subjective than its theoretic purpose requires. It is our just repugnance to this excess of fiction which makes us naturally prefer the Fetichistic mode in those exceptional cases where for want of the Law we aspire to the Cause" (p. 72).

759 *Ibid.*, p. 71. Summary.

760 *Ibid.*, p. 72. Quotation with slight variations, Hardy's underlining and inserted annotation. Again (see also entries 669n and 754n) the similar contrast of "Fetichistic" and "Monotheistic" ideas in *Tess* (p. 134) may be referred to. Tess's feelings of moral guilt, of a Monotheistic/Theological origin, "the phantoms and voices antipathetic to her," which she imagined in Nature, "was a sorry and mistaken creation of Tess's fancy," stimulated, Hardy implies, by the brand of Theologism to which she had been subjected, and which tends to separate human nature from universal nature: "It was they [the phantoms, voices, and "moral hobgoblins"] that were out of harmony with the actual world, not she. Walking among the sleeping birds in the hedges, watching the skipping rabbits on a moonlit warren, or standing under a pheasant-laden bough, she looked upon herself as a figure of Guilt intruding into the haunts of Innocence. But all the while she was making a distinction where there was no difference. Feeling herself in antagonism she was quite in accord. She had been made to break an accepted social law, but no law known to the environment in which she fancied herself such an anomaly" (p. 108).

761 *Ibid.*, p. 73. Annotation and quotation.

Despite this shortcoming, Comte asserts, "in doctrine as in method its [Fetichism's] superiority to Theologism continues to be as marked here as before" (p. 73).

762 *Ibid.*, p. 95. Summary.

763 *Ibid.*, pp. 109–112. Summary. Although Hardy refers to p. 112 only, the clearest exposition of what he notes comes in the preceding pages. The note on sculpture and painting should perhaps be a separate entry, judging from the "ib"; it seems also, however, to be included under the rubric "Development."

764 *Ibid.*, p. 114. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

765 *Ibid.*, p. 160. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

766 *Ibid.*, p. 200. Summary and quotation with variations.

In discussing the social influence of the Theocratic regime, Comte makes the following observation on Monotheists versus Polytheists: ". . . I must not omit to notice the reproach of immorality which Monotheists, with blind ingratitude, bring against Polytheism in all its modes on account of its alleged tendency to deify all the human vices. This absurd supposition, which would render the existence of Antiquity a contradiction, rests upon no other grounds than the Polytheistic mode of explaining each passion by a special God. For this God, the Monotheistic theory substitutes a Demon. . . ."

767 *Ibid.*, p. 226. Abridged quotation — with slight variations and Hardy's underlining — from Comte's discussion of the social results of "Intellectual Polytheism" in Greece. There is also, according to Comte, a "Social Polytheism."

768 *Ibid.*, p. 227. Annotations and quotation with slight variations.

Having considered the influence of Intellectual Polytheism on Greek society in general (see previous entry), Comte turns to its impact on particular aspects of Greek life, especially private life and the status of women:

> That progress in domestic life which consisted in the substitution of monogamy for polygamy is so slightly perceptible as to be almost doubtful. In reality, woman was less deprived of the honourable companionship of man in the harems of Asia than in the gynaecea of Greece. While public life never really arose, for want of a collective and continuous activity, the disorder of private life consequent on the want of moral discipline showed itself especially in the low esteem accorded to the affective sex by a society given up to pleasures of the mind. . . . A fatally significant word [Hetaerae] will ever commemorate the special tendency of this people towards the sexual debasement naturally induced by the evil preponderance of Intellect over Feeling (p. 227).

769 *Ibid.*, p. 481. Copied from a footnote charting the essence of a paragraph which considers the scientific results of the "Second or Protestant Phase" (1500–1685) of the Positive movement. The footnote distinguishes between the "Historical" and the "Dogmatic" views of Encyclopedic Hierarchy. Hardy notes the latter only.

770 Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution, Collected Works*, Library Ed. (London, 1869–71), II, 225. This is the only edition I have found with which Hardy's page references agree. His reference to vol. I may refer, not to the volume of the edition used, but to the volume of *The French Revolution*. Volume and page references in the following annotations are to the Library

Edition, which also serves as the basis for all textual comments on material from Carlyle in the "Literary Notes" and the "1867" Notebook. The entry is a mixture of comment and summary.

771 *Ibid.*, II, 226. Comment and summary.

772 *Ibid.*, II, 227. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

773 *Ibid.*, II, 232. Summarized from: "Alas, poor Besenval, with his troops melting away in that manner, has not the smallest humour to fire! At five o'clock this morning, as he lay dreaming, . . . a 'figure' stood suddenly at his bedside; 'with face rather handsome; eyes inflamed, speech rapid and curt, air audacious:' such a figure drew Priam's curtains! " (pp. 231–32).

Pierre Joseph Victor Besenval (1721–94).

774 *Ibid.*, II, 243. Comment and summary. The reference to "T. 30" (or possibly, "I. 30"), in pencil, is unidentified. It does not refer to vol. I, p. 30 of *The French Revolution*.

775 *Ibid.*, II, 243. Comment and summary.

776 *Ibid.*, II, 277. Comment and summary.

777 *Ibid.*, II, 278. Comment and summary.

Jacques Necker (1732–1804), Louis XVI's minister of finance.

778 *Ibid.*, II, 279. Comment on Carlyle's description of the poverty in France in the last decades of the 18th century.

779 *Loc. cit.* A mixture of summary and quotation with slight variations. Hardy has made no note of the answer to his parenthetical question.

780 *Ibid.*, II, 279–80. Comment, summary, and quotation with slight variations.

A similar resigned fatalism, but with more pronounced religious overtones, is regretfully attributed by Hardy to the Dorset peasants in his authorial comment on Alec's deflowering of Tess: "Doubtless some of Tess d'Urbervilles's mailed ancestors rollicking home from a fray had dealt the same measure even more ruthlessly towards peasant girls of their time. But though to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children may be a morality good enough for divinities, it is scorned by average human nature; and it therefore does not mend the matter.

As Tess's own people down in those retreats are never tired of saying among each other in their fatalistic way: 'It was to be.' There lay the pity of it" (*Tess*, p. 91).

781 *Ibid.*, II, 284. Comment and summary.
Stanislas Marie Maillard (1763–94), French revolutionary.

782 *Ibid.*, II, 286. Summary.

783 *Ibid.*, II, 286. Summary.

784 *Ibid.*, II, 289. Summary.

785–86 *Ibid.*, II, 323. Summaries. Despite the underlining of "*Paris marches,*" the two entries may have been conceived of as one unit.

787 *Ibid.*, II, 327–28. Summary.

788 *Ibid.*, II, 329. Summary.

789 *Ibid.*, III, 41. Comment and summary.

790 *Ibid.*, III, 70. Comment and summary.

791–92 *Ibid.*, III, 70–71. Summaries.

793 *Ibid.*, III, 71. Comment and summary.

794 *Ibid.*, III, 80. Comment and summary.

795 *Ibid.*, III, 83. Comment and summary.

796 *Ibid.*, III, 93. Comment and summary.

797 "Compulsory Medication of Prostitutes by the State," *West. Rev.* NS, L (July, 1876), 143. Comment, abridged quotation, and parenthetical annotations.

798 Unidentified.

Judging from his only direct fictional reference to Bentham, in *The Hand of Ethelberta*, Hardy seems to have been largely favourable to his thought, especially as filtered through J.S. Mill (for whom see entry 1190n): Ethelberta reads Mill's *Utilitarianism* and applies its argument rather cynically to her own decision on the financially profitable marriage with Lord Mountclere. In his subsequent disapproval of the heroine's reasoning, Hardy takes pains to make clear that his criticism of Ethelberta should not be extended to the book she has consulted: "... the application of her author's philosophy to the marriage question was an operation of her own, as unjustifiable as it was likely in the

circumstances" (p. 318). Her "solace" from the treatise is derived by "a sorry but unconscious misapplication of sound and wide reasoning" (p. 319), and in the over-all estimate of her development, Hardy points out that her "gradient" has been from "soft and playful Romanticism to *distorted* Benthamism" (p. 321; my italics).

Tullus Hostilius (673–642 B.C.), "traditionally the third king of Rome" (OCD), was once intended by Hardy to have helped to characterize Eustacia in *The Return of the Native*. In the MS. a crossed-over line, the beginning of which was on a now lost page, reads: "~~Had she realized Tullus Hostilius she would have wished to visit his tomb~~" (f. 79).

799 "The Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood," *D. News*, Oct. 31, 1876, p. 5. Summary.

Andrea Cesalpino (1519–1603), Italian investigator.

800 "Andrea Cesalpino," *D. News*, Nov. 2, 1876, p. 2. Summary of a letter, signed Edwd. Meryon, M.D., in support of Cesalpino's claim to the discovery of the circulation of the blood. See also entry 846.

801 "The Discoverer of the Circulation of the Blood," *D. News*, Nov. 4, 1876, p. 3. Summary.

802 "The Discoverer of the Circulation of the Blood," *D. News*, Nov. 18, 1876, p. 3. Summary.

803 Unidentified.

804 "Forgotten Jokes," *Cornhill*, XXXIV (Nov., 1876), 598. Comment and abridged quotation with inserted annotation.

805 *Ibid.*, p. 600. Comment and summary. "& South" is inserted in pencil.

806 Leslie Stephen, "Thoughts on Criticism by a Critic," *Cornhill*, XXXIV (Nov., 1876), 567. The "ib." reference to "Forgotten Jokes" is erroneous. The entry is extracted from the following passage: "When a spiritual movement has acquired a certain impetus and volume, its leader must be a great man. To admit that a mere charlatan can move the world, is to hold with the housemaid that a plate breaks itself, or, with the Tories in Queen Anne's time, that Marlborough won his battles by sheer cowardice."

807 "Forgotten Jokes," *Cornhill*, XXXIV (Nov., 1876), 595. Summarized from the opening sentence of the essay (see also entries 804–05): "GOOD jokes,

as a rule, confirm the truth of the Pythagorean philosophy: they never die, but they pass through a thousand different shapes."

808 "The Laws of Dream-fancy," *Cornhill*, XXXIV (Nov., 1876), 548. Summary and parenthetical annotation.

809 H.H. Statham, "Modern English Architecture," *Fort. Rev.*, XX (1876), 479. Summary.

In two respects, at least, Statham's article is likely to have agreed with Hardy: it is highly critical of modern imitations of Gothic art (cf., for instance, *Jude*, p. 99), and it does not refrain from mixing morals and aesthetics in its evaluation of architecture (cf. entry 262n).

For a brief note on Hardy and architecture, see entry 262n.

810 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's underlining and annotation.

811 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

812 *Ibid.*, p. 482. Summary.

813 *Ibid.*, p. 491. Quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

814 John Morley, "Robespierre," *Fort. Rev.*, XX (Sept. 1, 1876), 329; Morley, *Works*, XII, 242–43. Comment, summary, and abridged quotation with annotation. For a general note on Morley, see entry 418n.

815 *Op. cit.*, pp. 329–30; Morley, *Works*, XII, 243. Comment and summary.

816 *Loc. cit.* Comment and summary.

817 *Op. cit.*, p. 340; Morley, *Works*, XII, 258–59. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

For a general note on Spinoza, see entries 112–13n. There is a passing reference to Machiavelli in *A Laodicean*, p. 53, as there also was in the early versions of *The Return of the Native:* the Ms. f. 79; *Belgravia*, XXXIV (Feb., 1878), 506. It was deleted for the first ed.

818 *Op. cit.*, p. 341; Morley, *Works*, XII, 259. Summary.

In addition to Pinion's list (p. 202), there is a passing reference to Cicero also in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, p. 143.

819 *Op. cit.*, p. 334; Morley, *Works*, XII, 250. Comment and summary.

820 This entry seems to be Hardy's comment on the incident noted in the previous entry.

821 *Op. cit.*, pp. 343–44; Morley, *Works*, XII, 262–63. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

822 *Op. cit.*, p. 344; Morley, *Works*, XII, 264. Summary.

823 *Op. cit.*, pp. 344–45; Morley, *Works*, XII, 264–65. Subjective summary.

824 *Op. cit.*, p. 348; Morley, *Works*, XII, 269. Comment and summary.

825 *Op. cit.*, pp. 349 ff; Morley, *Works*, XII, 271 ff. Comment and summary.

826 *Op. cit.*, p. 349; Morley, *Works*, XII, 271. Extracted from: "This monstrous law is simply the complete abrogation of all law. Of all laws ever passed in the world it is the most nakedly iniquitous." The first sentence is deleted for the *Works* edition.

827 *Op. cit.*, p. 350; Morley, *Works*, XII, 271. Summary.

828 *Op. cit.*, p. 354; the passage is deleted for the *Works* edition. Comment and summary.

829 *Op. cit.*, p. 358; Morley, *Works*, XII, 281. Quotation, with variations and Hardy's underlining, and comment: "It was noticed that the heat during the terrible days of Thermidor was more intense. . . ."

Although in a positive context, both the factual event here noted and Hardy's comment are echoed in a passage in *Tess:* "July passed over their heads, and the Thermidorean weather which came in its wake seemed an effort on the part of Nature to match the state of hearts at Talbothays Dairy" (p. 190). See also the recollection in the *Life*, p. 215.

830 *Op. cit.*, pp. 360 ff.; Morley, *Works*, XII, 284 ff. Summary.

831 D. Wedderburn, "Mormonism from a Mormon Point of View," *Fort. Rev.*, XX (Oct. 1, 1876), 471. Comment, summary, quotation with variation, and annotation.

For an observation by Hardy on the Mormons, see entry 837n.

832 *Ibid.*, pp. 472–73. Comment and abridged quotation with variations.

833 *Ibid.*, pp. 473–74. Summary.

Joseph Smith (1805–44), founder of the Mormon religion.

834 *Ibid.*, p. 474. Annotation and summary.

835 *Ibid.*, p. 475. Comment and summary.

836 *Ibid.*, p. 474. Summary.

837 *Ibid.*, pp. 475–76. A mixture of comment and summary. The comparison to Israel is Hardy's own.

Hardy saw another parallel as he read the speech of Satan in *Paradise Lost*. In his copy of *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, ed. T.A. Buckley (London, 1864), p. 10, Hardy marked the following lines with a wavy line in the margin and added "Cf. Mormons & Indians":

> And what I should be, all but less than he
> Whom thunder hath made greater, Here at least
> We should be free; the Almighty hath not built
> Here for his envy, will not drive us hence (I, 257–60)

For the allusion to the Red Indians, see entry 1013.

The marking in Hardy's copy of Milton (DCM) is partly described by Wright, p. 16.

838 *Ibid.*, p. 478. Comment and summary.

839 John Morley, "On Popular Culture: An Address;" *Fort. Rev.*, XX (Nov. 1, 1876), 648. Quotation with a slight variation and Hardy's underlining.

For a general note on Morley, see entry 418n.

840 *Loc. cit.* Annotation and quotation with a slight variation.

Hardy gave a similar piece of advice in his famous letter to the Rev. Dr. A.B. Grosart, as he recommended the clergyman to read the *Life of Darwin* (*Life*, p. 205).

841 *Loc. cit.* Annotation and quotation.

842 *Ibid.*, p. 642.

The sentiment is common enough in Hardy's writing. It is perhaps most clearly stated in a passage that was deleted for the Osgood, McIlvaine ed. (1895) of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, a passage which emphasized the novel's over-all allusion, in its title, to the "unknown great" theme of Gray's "Elegy":

"Spiritually and mentally, no less than socially, a commonplace general situation is no conclusive proof that a man has not potentialities above that level," *Cornhill*, XXIX (April, 1874), 397.

843 *Ibid.*, p. 650. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

844 *Ibid.*, p. 647. Abridged quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

845 *Ibid.*, p. 636. Annotation and quotation.

846 "The Discoverer of the Circulation of the Blood," *D. News* Nov. 18, 1876, p. 3. Abridged quotation and annotations. See also entries 799–802.

847 "Land's Hebrew Grammar," *Sat. Rev.*, XLII (Nov. 11, 1876), 608. Comment on, and abridged quotation with variations from, a review of J.P.N. Land, *The Principles of Hebrew Grammar*, tr. R.L. Poole (London, 1876).

That, in his close study of the Bible, Hardy was struck by its stylistic qualities is well documented in his creative writing: for relevant studies, see entry 102n. He also commented explicitly on the Bible's conscious artistry. In his prefatory note on Barnes in *The English Poets*, ed. T.H. Ward (London, 1918), Hardy observed that Barnes's "apparently simple unfoldings are as studied as the simple Bible-narratives are studied" (Orel. p. 84). And, in a note for Easter Sunday, 1885, Hardy had made a similar point: "Evidences of art in Bible narratives. They are written with a watchful attention (though disguised) as to their effect on their reader. Their so-called simplicity is, in fact, the simplicity of the highest cunning" (*Life*, p. 170).

848 *Loc. cit.* Comment and abridged quotation with annotation.

849 *Ibid.*, p. 609. Comment and quotation with variations.

850 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

851 "Willert's Reign of Lewis XI," *Sat. Rev.*, XLII (Nov. 11, 1876), 604. Comment on, and summary with quotation from, a review of P.F. Willert, *The Reign of Lewis XI* (London, Oxford, and Cambridge, 1876): the review draws attention to Willert's notice of Scott's picture of the French king in *Quentin Durward*.

852 *Loc. cit.* Comment and quotation with considerable variations.

853 *Ibid.*, p. 605. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

854 *Loc. cit.* Comment and a mixture of summary and quotation and annotations.

The Battle of Granson (or Grandson), 1476.

855 John Tyndall, "Fermentation, and its Bearing on the Phenomena of Disease," *Fort. Rev.*, XX (Nov. 1, 1876), 556. Comment and quotation with variations and parenthetical annotation.

John Tyndall (1820–1893), natural philosopher.

The article was a contribution to the contemporary discussions of the concepts of spontaneous generation and organic generation. Tyndall was an advocate of the latter principle. Hardy's notes, however, do not focus on Tyndall's many deductions in favour of organic generation but on the scientific facts Tyndall offered.

856 *Ibid.*, p. 553. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

857 *Ibid.*, p. 566. Abridged quotation with slight variations, parenthetical annotation, and Hardy's underlining.

858 *Loc. cit.* Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

859 *Ibid.*, pp. 567–69. Summary.

Robert Koch (1843–1910), German physician; winner of the Nobel prize for physiology and medicine in 1905.

860 *Ibid.*, p. 571. Summary and quotation.

861 "Art at Home." *Sat. Rev.*, XLII (Nov. 25, 1876), 657. Comment, summary, and quotation with variations.

The article was occasioned by a speech by the Rector of Lincoln College in Oxford, in which he had displayed some vexation at the "popular indifference to household art." The Rector's vexation, the article asserted, was due to his failure to see that "good taste of primitive races is unconscious and instinctive."

862 *Loc. cit.* Comment and summary.

863 "An English-Japanese Dictionary, " *Sat. Rev.*, XLII (Nov. 18, 1876), 641. Summary with quotations from a review of Ernest Mason Satow, *An English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language* (London, 1876).

864 "Sugar," *Sat. Rev.*, XLII (Nov. 25, 1876), 661. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

The price of sugar rose suddenly in 1876. Hardy notes the article's brief historical view of the problem. In so doing he seems to change slightly — in his introductory comment — the article's emphasis on the evil of war generally to the evil of Napoleon; at the beginning of the 19th century, the article points out, sugar came from distant countries, and the use of it was confined mainly to the middle and upper classes: "The first change in this state of things was brought about by a cause which we think of as productive of nothing but evil — war."

865 Thomas De Quincey, "Style," *Collected Writings*, ed. D. Masson (Edinburgh, 1889–90), X, 154. The edition Hardy used is unidentified. Summary with key phrases quoted from a passing observation in De Quincey's discussion of the "popular style" of English newspapers.

866 *Op. cit.*, X, 139. Comment on, and quotation from, De Quincey's eloquent disapproval of the "general tendency" of the "national mind" in England to "value the *matter* of a book, not only as paramount to the *manner*. but even as distinct from it, and as capable of a separate insulation" (p. 137). This tendency is the more deplorable, De Quincey seems to argue, in view of the fact that "the English people have been placed for two centuries and a quarter (i.e. since the latter decennium of James the First's reign), under a constant experience of popular eloquence thrown into all channels of social life . . . [and] must have had peculiar occasion to feel the effects of style. But to feel is not to feel consciously. Many a man is charmed by one cause who ascribes the effect to another. Many a man is fascinated by the artifices of composition . . . ." Cf. Hardy's view of the unity of a work of art, "Critical Introduction," pp. xxii–xxiii.

867 *Op. cit.* X, 169. Summary.

De Quincey argues that "whatsoever we find it difficult to investigate as a result we endeavour to follow as a growth. Failing analytically to probe its nature, historically we seek relief to our perplexities by tracing its origin" (p. 168). The mystery of the absence of landscape painting in antiquity, however, does not seem solvable by either research method, he adds.

868 *Op. cit.*, X, 175. Abbreviated quotation from De Quincey's consideration of the difficulties and achievements of the early practitioners of prose writing.

869 *Op. cit.*, X, 226–27. Summary and abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

De Quincey argues that "subjective" intellectual pursuits "are peculiarly favourable to the culture of style" (p. 226). Hardy focuses on De Quincey's observations on "meditative poetry," which is one of the "very many subjective exercises of the mind" (p. 226).

870 Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, *Works*, III, 140. Comment and summary. For a general note on Carlyle, see entry 94n. Hardy's parenthetical reference to "Chatham" may be to Macaulay's "The Earl of Chatham" (possibly quoted in entry 25n) in which is described, imaginatively and emotionally, the great effort of Pitt (later Earl of Chatham) to attend the House of Commons debate on Dec. 9, 1762 to denounce a preliminary treaty with France and Spain. After a speech of 3 hrs. and 26 min. Pitt had to leave before the vote on account of an extremely painful attack of gout.

Charles Jacques Nicholas Duchatel (1751–1844).

871 [W. O'C. Morris], "Secret Correspondence of Marie Antoinette," *Edin. Rev.*, CXLIV (Oct. 1876), 320. Annotations on, and abridged quotation from, a review of *Marie Antoinette. Correspondance Secrète entre Marie Thérèse et le Conte de Mercy Argenteau, avec les lettres de Marie Thérèse et de Marie Antoinette* (Paris, 1874).

872 [John Tulloch], "Morality without Metaphysics," *Edin. Rev.*, CXLIV (Oct. 1876), 476–77. Comment on, and abridged quotation with variations from, a review of M. Caro, *Problèmes de Morale Sociale* (Paris 1876). The line in the left hand margin is in red pencil.

Caro's book is a "polemic with the empirical school of morals" (p. 494). The reviewer is in complete agreement with Caro and gives a negative exposition of "the modern spirit of negation" (p. 471) in general and the "ethical school of experience" (p. 473) in particular, concluding with a castigation of Darwin's ethical speculations (pp. 496–99). Hardy's extract is from the hostile representation of the "ethical school of experience" in comparison with traditional concepts of morality on a metaphysical basis.

Elme-Marie Caro (1826–87), French philosopher.

873 "The Depreciation of Silver," *Edin. Rev.*, CXLIV (Oct. 1876), 514–15. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

874 R. Duppa, *Life of Michel Angelo Buonarroti* (see entry 200n), p. 15. Summary and annotations. The references to the patronages of Horace, Virgil, and Shakespeare are not to be found in Duppa. For biographical notes on Virgil, see entries 263ff.; for Shakespeare, see next entry. The paranthetical reference is originally in pencil, but re-written in ink.

875 Alexander Dyce, "Memoir of Shakespeare," in *The Poems of Shakespeare*, The Aldine Edition of the British Poets (London, 1857), p. lxi. Comment and summary with key phrases quoted.

Hardy's copy of this book (DCM) is autographed "Thomas Hardy" on the title page.

876 Duppa, p. 20. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

Bentivoglio, Italian noble family; its most prominent member was Giovanni II (1462–1506).

877 *Ibid.*, p. 21. Comment and summary.

878 *Ibid.*, p. 23. Summary.

879 *Ibid.*, p. 25. Summary and quotation with variations.

880 "Heer's Primaeval Switzerland," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIII (Jan. 13, 1877), 51. Abridged quotation with annotation and variations from a review of O. Heer, *The Primaeval World of Switzerland*, ed. James Heywood (London, 1876).

The passage is used in *The Return of the Native* to emphasize, it seems, the timeless quality of Egdon Heath as compared to the transient concerns of its inhabitants. Having broken with his mother, Clym is anxiously waiting for Eustacia:

> He was in a nest of vivid green. The ferny vegetation round him, though so abundant, was quite uniform: it was a grove of machine-made foliage, a world of green triangles with saw-edges; and not a single flower. The air was warm with a vaporous warmth, and the stillness was unbroken. Lizards, grasshoppers, and ants were the only living things to be beheld. The scene seemed to belong to the ancient world of the carboniferous period, when the forms of plants were few, and of the fern kind; when there was neither bud nor blossom, nothing but a monotonous extent of leafage, amid which no bird sang (p. 241).

881 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with annotation.

882 Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Biology*, (London, 1864), I, 69. Summary. Hardy notes a natural phenomenon which Spencer mentions to illustrate and support his statement that "it cannot be said that inanimate things present no parallels to animate ones" (p. 69).

That Spencer was among his more influential authors, Hardy himself indicated in a letter: "My pages show harmony of view with Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Comte, Hume, Mill, and others, all of whom I used to read more than Schopenhauer" (quoted in Wright, p. 38). Despite Spencer's undoubtedly strong general impact on Hardy — or rather, perhaps, because of the general nature of his influence, conveying such a mixture of contemporary thought — there are only a few explicit and demonstrable traces of it in Hardy's writing. As in so many other instances, Rutland (pp. 56–58) is among the first to draw attention to specifics, as he points to the probable use of the very words and phrases of

First Principles in *The Dynasts*. Conclusive evidence for Hardy's reading of Spencer's first major work is provided by the "1867" Notebook, into which Hardy copied, among other material from the same source, the famous title, "The Unknowable," of part I of *First Principles*. There is also the glowing tribute to the work in a letter to Lena Milman (for a biographical note, see *One Rare Fair Woman*, pp. 4–5):

> I promised myself the pleasure of answering your letter on Spencer, &c., as soon as I could get into a quiet corner of the world, which I have at last done. I am glad to find that your are interested in "First Principles" — a book which acts, or used to act, upon me as a sort of patent expander when I had been particularly narrowed down by the events of life. Whether the theories are true or false, their effect upon the imagination is unquestionable, and I think beneficial. You will soon get hold of the phraseology, for which he has been ridiculed by some critics; the fact being that it is a style of writing from which he could hardly escape in handling such subjects. (Hardy to Milman, July 17, 1893 [Texas])

Any assessment, however, of the influence of this work on Hardy should probably heed Wright's caution that what "Hardy found in Spencer's *First Principles* . . . is . . . conjectural. Some things he would have found better put in Mill or Stephen, if only because more judiciously stated" (p. 34). Wright's warning is possibly applicable also to Spencer's other works, although Wright himself (pp. 34–35) convincingly relates Spencer's views on, for instance, causation and the nature of consciousness to *The Dynasts*. For direct references to Spencer in Hardy's writing, see the *Life*, pp. 201, 205, and the "General Preface to the Novels and Poems" (Orel. p. 49).

Hardy owned (Hodgson, item 28) Spencer's *Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative*, 3 vols. (London, 1865) and his *Autobiography*, 2 vols. (London, 1904).

883 *Ibid.*, I, 92. Quotation with slight variations.

884 *Ibid.*, I, 153. Abridged quotation from the introductory paragraph to ch. III, "Function," of Part II: "Does Structure originate Function, or does Function originate Structure? is a question about which there has been disagreement. Using the word Function in its widest signification, as the totality of all vital actions, the question amounts to this — does Life produce Organization, or does Organization produce Life? " Admitting that "neither seems possible without the other," Spencer suggests, however, that there is "one fact implying that Function must be regarded as taking precedence of Structure. Of the lowest Rhizopods, which present no distinction of parts, and nevertheless feed and grow and move about, prof. Huxley has remarked that they exhibit Life without Organization" (pp. 153–54).

885 *Ibid.*, I, 166. Quotation, with slight variations, and summary.

Spencer mentions Kitto's experience as a concrete example of the generalization that "the physiological division of labour, is usually not carried so far as wholly to destroy the primary physiological community of labour" (p. 164).

Eustacia's endeavour to get a glimpse of Clym and his relatives on the dark night of his return to Egdon Heath brings associations to Kitto's achievement: "She strained her eyes to see them, but was unable. Such was her intentness, however, that it seemed as if her ears were performing the functions of seeing as well as hearing. This extension of power can almost be believed in at such moments. The deaf Dr. Kitto was probably under the influence of a parallel fancy when he described his body as having become, by long endeavour, so sensitive to vibrations that he had gained the power of perceiving by it as by ears" (*The Return of the Native*, p. 136).

886 *Ibid.*, I, 207. Quotation with variations from Spencer's discussion of the problem of Individuality in a biological sense. Having granted that there is "no definition of individuality that is unobjectionable" (p. 206), Spencer refers to the case of the Hectocotylus as only one of the many difficult problems involved in the question, "What constitutes a concrete living whole? " (p. 206). The best answer, Spencer maintains, is to be found in the definition of Life as " 'the definite combination of heterogeneous changes, both simultaneous and successive, in correspondence with external co-existences and sequences.' Hence a biological individual is any concrete whole having a structure which enables it, when placed in appropriate conditions, to continuously adjust its internal relations to external relations, so as to maintain the equilibrium of its functions" (p. 207).

887 *Ibid.*, I, 294. Mixture of summary and quotation from Spencer's exposition of the problems and development of classification.

888 *Ibid.*, I, 295. Summary.

Augustus Quirinus Rivinus (1652–1723), German botanist; George Joseph Kamel (d. 1706), Moravian Jesuit missionary; Pierre Magnol (1638–1715), French botanist; John Ray or Wray (1627–1705), English naturalist; Bernard de Jussieu (1699–1777?), French botanist.

889 *Ibid.*, I, 301. Summary.

890 *Ibid.*, I, 295. Summary.

891 *Ibid.*, I, 305. Except for the first few lines, the entry is in E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with variations.

892 *Ibid.*, I, 317. Quotation from Spencer's consideration of the distribution of organisms in space and time according to "negative" and "positive" causes of distribution. With several references to Darwin's observations on the subject, and having discussed various negative causes of distribution of organisms, Spencer remarks: "One general truth . . . [is] that organisms are ever intruding on each other's spheres of existence. . . . This intrusion of organisms on one another's modes of life, goes to the extent of intruding on one another's media" (pp. 315–16). One such intrusion is the eel's terrestial visit.

893 *Ibid.*, I, 392. Quotation, with a slight variation, and annotation. This phenomenon is an intrusion of the same kind as in the previous entry. As the page reference indicates, however, Hardy has extracted it from a different context: considering the arguments in favour of the evolution hypothesis, Spencer notes how the theory of evolution "corresponds with the facts of distribution, not over different areas, but through different media" (p. 391). These facts of distribution support, for instance, the idea that fins may have developed into feet; for Spencer suggests,

> The adage that "truth is stranger than fiction," applies quite as much to Nature as to human life. Besides the fact that there are certain fish which actually do "take a walk" without any very obvious reason; and besides the fact that sundry fish ramble about on land when impelled to do so by the drying-up of the waters inhabited by them; there is the still more astounding fact, that one kind of fish climbs trees. Few things seem more obviously impossible, than that a water-breathing creature without efficient limbs should ascend eight or ten feet up the trunk of a palm; and yet the *Anabas scandens* does as much.

894 *Ibid.*, I, 315. Quotation with variations.

Like entry 892, this is from Spencer's discussion of negative causes of distribution, especially the limits of distribution "imposed by the presence or absence of other organisms" (p. 312). One of the special limits of distribution is parasitism, of which the annelid provides an example.

895 *Ibid.*, I, 318. Quotation, with slight variations, of a passage from Darwin, quoted by Spencer in his continued discussion of the distribution of organisms. The conclusion which Spencer later draws from Darwin's factual information reflects the struggle for life theory (pp. 319–20).

Hardy professed to have been one of the earliest "acclaimers" of the *Origin of Species* (*Life*, p. 153), and the profound influence of Darwin on Hardy's thought and creative writing has been authoritatively treated in several outstanding scholarly studies: see especially Jean Brooks, "Darwinism in Thomas Hardy's Major Novels," M.A. thesis, University of London, 1961, and Georg Roppen,

"Darwin and Hardy's Universe," in *Evolution and Poetic Belief* (Oslo, 1956), pp. 283–316. For an interesting discussion of how the idea of evolution affected Hardy's characterization, see Richard Beckman, "A Character Typology for Hardy's Novels," *ELH*, XXX (March 1963), 70–87.

One aspect of the Darwinian impact on Hardy which has not received much attention is to be found in the ethical ramifications that Hardy saw in the theory of evolution. He explained this perhaps most clearly and explicitly in a letter to the Secretary of the Humanitarian League in 1910: " 'Few people seem to perceive fully as yet that the most far-reaching consequence of the establishment of the common origin of all species is ethical; that it logically involved a readjustment of altruistic morals by enlarging as a *necessity of rightness* the application of what has been called "The Golden Rule" beyond the area of mere mankind to that of the whole animal kingdom. Possibly Darwin himself did not wholly perceive it, though he alluded to it" (*Life*, p. 349). See also *Life*, p. 347.

896 *Ibid.*, I, 402. Summary and quotation.

Before attempting to deduce the main facts of organic evolution, Spencer takes a look at the various hypotheses as to the causes of organic evolution. Hardy notes the introductory paragraph:

> The theory that plants and animals of all kinds were gradually evolved, seems to have been at first accompanied only by the vaguest conception of cause – or rather, by no conception of cause properly so called, but only by the blank form of a conception. One of the earliest who in modern times (1735) contended that organisms are indefinitely modifiable, and that through their modificatios they have become adapted to various modes of existence, was De Maillet. But though De Maillet supposed all living beings to have arisen by a natural continuous process, he does not appear to have had any definite idea of that which determines this process.

897 "The Makers of Florence," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIII (Feb. 1877), 238. Summary and quotation with variations from a review of Mrs. Oliphant, *The Makers of Florence, Dante, Giotto, Savonarola; and Their City* (London, 1876). The review is rather critical.

898 *Ibid.*, p. 237. Abridged quotation with variations.

899 G.H. Lewes, "The Course of Modern Thought," *Fort. Rev.*, XXI (March 1, 1877), 325. Quotation with slight variations.

Lewes gives a brief survey of the two "increasingly divergent lines" of modern philosophy: "the Theoretic Conception of scientific speculation" (p. 317) on the one side, and the Idealism of Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and Kant on the other. Hardy quotes from a paragraph in which Lewes explains how biological Dualism

(the Matter-Spirit or Body-Soul juxtaposition) has been undermined by both psychological and physiological speculations; Hardy notes Lewes's account of the latter, but not his rejection of both Idealism and Materialism in favour of "Reasoned Realism," Lewes's own term for a concept "which reconciles Common Sense with Speculative Logic, by showing that although the *truth* of things (their *Wahrheit*) is just what we perceive in them (our *Wahrnehmung*), yet their *reality* is this, and much more than this. *Things* are what they are felt to be; and what they are thought to be, when thoughts are symbols of the perceptions" (p. 321).

For Lewes, see entry 105n. Cf. also with entries 1229 and 1281.

900 M.E. Grant Duff, "Balthasar Gracian," *Fort. Rev.*, XXI (March 1, 1877), 330. The heading is in Hardy's hand, but the rest of the entry in E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with variations.

As the following annotations will suggest, the maxims of the Spanish Jesuit Balthasar Gracian (1601–58) are reflected in several Hardy novels, but most prominently in *A Laodicean*. It is true that many of the epigrams are so commonplace that mere echoes of them are difficult to trace back to Gracian with any degree of certainty. But, this is not the case with the examples in *A Laodicean*; Captain de Stancy, for instance, refers directly to one of Gracian's maxims in his optimistic conjecture about his chances to win the heart of Paula during the long absence of Somerset: "as the Jesuit said, 'Time and I against any two' " (p. 234; quoted also in entry 919). It is, however, old de Stancy who most frequently voices Gracian's epigrammatic sagacity. In most, if not all, the cases the effect is to satirize the old man's claim to wisdom, in accord with the observation that although old de Stancy is "so full . . . of wise maxims" he "never acted upon a wise maxim in his life, until he had lost everything, and it didn't matter whether he was wise or no" (p. 53). This characterization follows the first meeting between Somerset and old de Stancy, during which Somerset has been subjected to many pieces of good advice. One of these seems to incorporate part of entry 900: "Not that I mean to say that luck lies in any one place long, or at any one person's door. Fortune likes new faces, and your wisdom lies in bringing your acquisitions into safety while her favour lasts. To do that you must make friends in her time of smiles – make friends with people, wherever you find them. My daughter has unconsciously followed that maxim" (p. 52). For the two final sentences, see also entry 905.

For additional uses, or echoes, of Gracian's maxims in *A Laodicean*, see entries 904n, 930n, 933n.

901 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with variations.

902 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation.

Cf. "There is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so" (*Two on a Tower*, p. 119). See also entry 906, and — *Hamlet*, II. ii.

903 *Ibid.*, p. 331. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

A similar view of the masses is noted in entries 1322–24.

904 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with variations.

See entry 900n and cf. with old de Stancy's advice to Somerset:

> It is better to know where your luck lies than where your talent lies:
> . . . . . .
> What I was going to add, on the subject of finding out where your luck lies, is that nobody is so unfortunate as not to have a lucky star in some direction or other. Perhaps yours is at the antipodes; if so, go there. All I say is, discover your lucky star.
> . . . . . .
> You may be able to do two things; one well, the other but indifferently, and yet you may have more luck in the latter. Then stick to that one, and never mind what you can do best. Your star lies there (*A Laodicean*, p. 52; see also p. 309).

905 *Ibid.*, p. 332. E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with variations.

See also entry 900n.

906 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with a slight variation.

See also entry 902 and n, and cf. " 'But it is not by what is, in this life, but by what appears, that you are judged" (*The Mayor of Casterbridge*, p. 203).

907 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

Hardy expresses similar notions in discussing, with a certain amount of understanding and compassion, Clym's situation on Egdon Heath: "In consequence of this relatively advanced position [Clym's familiarity with modern ethical systems], Yeobright might have been called unfortunate. The rural world was not ripe for him. A man should be only partially before his time: to be completely to the vanward in aspirations is fatal to fame" (pp. 203–04).

908–10 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations.

911–13 *Ibid.*, p. 333. E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations.

914 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation.

Hardy had earlier maintained similar ideas in his descriptions of Christopher Julian in *The Hand of Ethelberta* (p. 65) and of Troy in *Far from the Madding Crowd* (p. 192).

915 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

916 *Ibid.*, p. 334. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with a slight variation.
See also entry 904n.

917 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with a slight variation.

918 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation.

919–21 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations. See also entry 900n.

922 *Ibid.*, p. 335. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation.

923–27 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations.

928 *Ibid.*, p. 336. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation.

929 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

930 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.
Old de Stancy weaves this maxim into one of his many exhortations to Somerset: "win affection and regard wherever you can, and accomodate yourself to the times" (*A Laodicean*, p. 52). The second half of the sentence is extracted from entry 933.

931–32 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations.

933 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.
For Hardy's use of the maxim, see entry 930n.

934 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with a slight variation.

935–37 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations.

938–43 *Ibid.*, p. 337. E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations.

944–45 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotations.

946 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with a slight variation.

947 *Ibid.*, p. 338. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with a slight variation.

948–54 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations.

955 *Ibid.*, p. 339. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

956–61 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations.

962 *Ibid.*, p. 340. E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

963–67 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations.

968–74 *Ibid.*, p. 341. E. Hardy's hand. Quotations with slight variations.

975 *Loc. cit.* E. Hardy's hand. Quotations.

976 John Rowan, *The Emigrant and Sportsman in Canada* (London, 1876), p. 273. Summary. The reference to "Stanford" is not identified.

Hardy recalls this phenomenon in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* as he describes Henchard's bewildered movements after his final break with Elizabeth: "his wandering, like that of the Canadian woodsman, became part of a circle of which Casterbridge formed the centre" (p. 368; a few minor textual changes were made between the MS. and the Wessex Ed.).

977 *Ibid.*, pp. [288]–89. Mixture of summary and quotation.

978 *Ibid.*, p. 290. Abridged quotation with variations.

979 *Ibid.*, p. 291. Despite the quotation marks this is a summary with only key words quoted. Prof. Millgate has kindly drawn my attention to Hardy's mention (*Life*, p. 223) of Ann West as one of the field-women of the "bevy now underground" in the poem "At Middle-Field Gate in February," and to the fact that, according to the Stinsford Parish Registers, Ann West was married on February 2, 1855. Rowan's description of the "silver frost," that is, evoked in Hardy the scene of a wedding some twenty years earlier.

980 Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1876), I, 80. Quotation from Stephen's exposition of the early history of Deism.

The *Life* and Hardy's contribution to F.W. Maitland's *The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen* (London, 1906), pp. 170–78 offer a surprising amount of information about Hardy's personal and professional ties with Stephen. Contrary to his habitual public reticence in such matters, Hardy is explicit and enthusiastic in his acknowledgment of his debts to Stephen, "whose philo-

sophy," Hardy admits when he looks back at their first meeting, "was to influence his [Hardy's] own for many years, indeed, more than that of any other contemporary" . . . (*Life*, p. 100). This profound impact is, however, as in the case of that of Spencer on Hardy (see entry 882n), not easy to particularize because of its broad and general nature in aesthetics, religion, and philosophy. Some attention is drawn to the potential importance of Stephen's moral aesthetics for Hardy's critical views in the "Critical Introduction," p. xxvii. The extent and partial effect of Stephen's early direct criticism of Hardy's own work is well accounted for by, especially, Millgate, pp. 81–82, 105, 124, and Purdy, pp. 14–16, 22–23, 27. Purdy (pp. 336–39) also prints six letters to Hardy from Stephen when the latter was editor of the *Cornhill*.

Anthony Collins (1676–1729), deist and philosopher.

981 *Ibid.*, I, 103. Quotation with a slight variation.

Hardy notes an example Stephen offers of the "more or less pronounced tendency to rationalism" which characterized the theological works of Toland's last twenty-five years (p. 103).

982 *Ibid.*, II, 412. Summary of, and quotation from, Stephen's rather positive account of Wesley's personal qualities, if not of his speculative insight.

983 *Ibid.*, II, 410. Summary.

984 G.A. Simcox, "Miss Martineau," *Fort. Rev.*, XXI (April 1, 1877), 529. Comment and quotation with slight variations from a review of Maria Weston Chapman, *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography, with Memorials* 3 vols. (London, 1877).

985 *Ibid.*, p. 526. Quotations and summary as indicated.

986 "Harriet Martineau," *Blackwood's*, CXXI (April, 1877), 489. Mixture of quotation and summary from a review of M.W. Chapman's book (see entry 984n).

987 Matthew Arnold, "Falkland," *The Nineteenth Century*, I (March 1877), 155; Super, II, 206–07. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations from Arnold's article in support of a proposal to raise a monument to Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland (1610–43), on the field of Newbury.

988 Sir Arthur Helps, *Essays Written in the Intervals of Business* (London, 1841), p. 8. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

Help's quotation is from *Essays on Men and Manners* (London, 1802; orig. pub. 1764), p. 192 by William Shenstone (1714–63). Helps's *Essays* were

published anonymously in 1841. They became very popular and went through several editions in the 19th century. Hardy's entries from them are in chronological disorder and are possibly based on old notes. This may be of some interest, for, despite the popular character of entry 988, Hardy may nevertheless consciously have echoed it on two occasions, many years apart, in his fiction. In *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873) he comments on Elfride's inability to make up her mind on the morning she sets out to elope with Stephen: "And making one of those stealthy movements by which women let their hearts juggle with their brains, she did put the horse's head about, as if unconsciously, and went at a hand-gallop towards home for more than a mile. By this time, from the inveterate habit of valuing what we have renounced directly the alternative is chosen, the thought of her forsaken Stephen recalled her, and she turned about, and cantered on to St. Launce's again" (p. 121). In "Fellow-Townsmen" (1880), Hardy incorporates the same notion into Lucy's argument with Barnet: " 'It is a very common folly of human nature, you know, to think the course you did *not* adopt must have been the best' . . ." (p. 123). The passage is not in the serial publication (*The New Quarterly Magazine*, N.S., III (April 1880) but was added for the publication of the story in *Wessex Tales*, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1888), I, 152.

989 *Ibid.*, pp. 8—9. Quotation.

This is also the essence of the authorial analysis of Tess's intense self-accusation and fear of the world's condemnation of her after she has given birth to her illegitimate child: "She might have seen that what had bowed her head so profoundly — the thought of the world's concern at her situation — was founded on an illusion. She was not an existence, an experience, a passion, a structure of sensations, to anybody but herself. To all humankind besides Tess was only a passing thought" (*Tess*, p. 115).

990 *Ibid.*, p. 20. Quotation with slight variations.

991 *Ibid.*, p. 29. Quotation with slight variations. The entry is actually a quotation from William Wollaston's *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1722).

992 *Ibid.*, pp. 32—33. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

993 *Ibid.*, p. 52. Despite the quotation marks this is a summary with only key phrases quoted.

994 *Ibid.*, p. 57. Quotation with a slight variation.

995 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with annotation and slight variations.

996 *Ibid.*, p. 82. Quotation with annotation.

997 *Ibid.*, p. 83. Quotation with slight variations.

998 *Ibid.*, p. 89. Summary and abridged quotation with slight variations.

999 *Ibid.*, p. 92. Quotation with slight variations.

1000 *Ibid.*, p. 86. Quotation with a slight variation. The first five words only are copied by Hardy; the rest of the entry is in E. Hardy's hand.

1001 *Ibid.*, pp. 101–04. Annotation and abridged quotation with slight variations.

1002 *Ibid.*, p. 106. Abridged quotation with variations.

1003 *Ibid.*, p. 112. Quotation with variations.

1004 Sir Arthur Helps, *Organization in Daily Life: An Essay* (London, 1862), pp. 20–21. The *Essay* was published anonymously. Summary and abridged quotation with variations.

1005 *Ibid.*, p. 62n. Quotation with slight variations.

1006 *Ibid.*, p. 97. Abridged quotation with variations.

1007 *Ibid.*, p. 98. Abridged quotation with slight variations.
This is, of course, an idea that is dramatized in *Two on a Tower.*

1008 *Ibid.*, p. 107. Mixture of quotation and summary.

1009 *Ibid.*, p. 108–09. Mixture of quotation and summary.

1010 *Ibid.*, pp. 116–17. Abridged quotation and annotation.

1011 "Dictionary of the Pâli Language," *Sat. Rev.*, XLII (July 29, 1876), 145. E. Hardy's hand. Mixture of summary and quotation from a review of Robert Caesar Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pâli Language* (London, 1876).

1012 *Ibid.*, p. 146. E. Hardy's hand. Mixture of summary and quotation.

1013 Unidentified. E. Hardy's hand.

1014 Unidentified.

1015 Matthew Arnold, "The Literary Influence of Academies," *Essays in Criticism*, First Series (London, 1865), p. 75. Quotation. The passage was, in addition to the serial publication, printed only in the 1st (1865) and 2nd (1869) editions, one of which, consequently, Hardy must have used for this entry. Two other textual changes also point to the two earliest editions as sources for entries 1015–1022: in entry 1017 Hardy copies the phrase "I cannot but think," with a comma after "think," thereby following the 1st and 2nd eds.; the 3rd (1875) has deleted the comma. Hardy frequently omits punctuation present in the original, but he very rarely adds any. Also, in entry 1018 he transcribes "from 530 B.C. to about the year 430," which agrees with the first two editions, whereas the 3rd has "about the year 530 to the year 430 B.C." (p. 256). The use of one of the two earliest editions, in combination with the fact that Emma Hardy entered the material (except entry 1015), suggests that these entries are based on old notes. When, a few years later, Hardy returns to *Essays in Criticism*, he appears to have used the 3rd edition; see entry 1159n and the "Textual Introduction," p. xxxiv.

The essay is quoted from also in entries 1166–67 and 1181–82.

For a general note on Arnold, see entry 101n; see also the "Critical Introduction," pp. xxii ff.

1016 M. Arnold, "Maurice de Guérin," p. 106; Super, III, 31. E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

1017 M. Arnold, "Heine," pp. 154–86; Super, II, 109–32. E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with slight variations. Cf. entry 1175 which incorporates material not copied here. See also entries 1173–74. For a brief textual discussion, see entry 1015n; for a general note on Goethe, entry 105n.

The marginal strokes are in ink, the underlining in red pencil.

DeLaura (p. 396) convincingly argues that although Hardy accepted Arnold's definition of the "modern spirit" in the Heine essay, his eye was "consistently on the *painful* exigencies of modernism, its human cost, and not on its liberating effects."

For a list of Byron references in Hardy's works, see Pinion, p. 202. To this can be added an allusion to *Childe Harold* in *An Indiscretion in the Life of an Heiress* (1878), ed. Carl J. Weber (New York, 1935; reissued New York, 1965), p. 39. *Childe Harold* seems to have been particularly liked by Hardy. For instance, to the symposium "Fine Passages in Verse and Prose; Selected by Living Men of Letters," Hardy wrote: ". . . of descriptive poetry I do not know that anything has as yet been fairly able to oust our old friends in *Childe Harold* — e.g. C. III., stanzas 85 to 87" (Orel, p. 107). And, as Purdy has observed, this "passage seems to have had personal associations for him [Hardy], since he set

the date '14.5.66' opposite it in his copy of Byron . . ." (Purdy, p. 297). Quotations from the poem are copied into the "Studies, Specimens &c" Notebook in the Purdy Collection.

Hardy seems to agree with Arnold's appreciation of Byron's emotional power as well as with Arnold's deprecating views on his intellectual abilities in a letter to Roden Noel in 1892: "I too, believe in Byron — though less in what he says, than in what you perceive he struggles to say, yet cannot. He was a clumsy fellow but I, for one, am always willing to meet him half-way" (Hardy to Noel, April 3, 1892 [Texas]).

For interesting remarks on Byron and Hardy's poem "A Refusal," see Purdy, p. 243 and Bailey, pp. 556–57; for a good discussion of a Byron reference in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, see Springer, p. 86.

For a list of allusions to Heine in Hardy's writings, see Pinion, p. 207. Of particular interest is Hardy's resort to Heine in his impassioned advocacy of " 'obstinate questionings' " in his "Apology," prefaced to *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (1922): "Heine observed nearly a hundred years ago that the soul has her eternal rights; that she will not be darkened by statutes, nor lullabied by the music of bells" (Orel, p. 52).

In connection with the poem "Song from Heine," Purdy informs us that "Hardy owned at least two volumes of Heine's verse in translation, *The Poems of Heine*, trans. E. A. Bowring (London, 1878), and *Heine's Book of Songs*, trans. C. G. Leland (New York, 1881), and in both volumes this lyric has been marked" (p. 117). I am not aware of any extant evidence that Hardy read Heine before he acquired the 1878 translation: there are no quotes from, or references to, Heine in Hardy's existing early notebooks.

Hardy's debt to Heine is discussed by Mamoru Osawa, "Hardy and the German Men-of-Letters," *Studies in English Literature* (Tokyo), XIX (Oct. 1939), 504–44 [not seen, but described in the recent and welcome *Thomas Hardy: An Annotated Bibliography of Writings about Him*, compiled and ed. by Helmut E. Gerber and W. Eugene Davis (De Kalb, Illinois, 1973), item 1914.]

1018 M. Arnold, "Pagan and Mediaeval Religous Sentiment," pp. 212–13; Super, III, 230–31. E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with slight variations. The final punctuation marks (a colon and a dash) tally with the 2nd and 3rd eds. The 1st ed. has a period only. For a brief textual discussion see entry 1015n. Parts of the passages here entered are copied again in late 1879 or early 1880 in entry 1176.

Basic ideas in "Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment" are worked into the first novel Hardy wrote after his re-reading of Arnold's essay: *A Laodicean*, written in 1880–81 (Purdy, pp. 39–40). As Millgate (p. 175) persuasively maintains, the essay's concept of the modern spirit clashing with mediaeval religious sentiment "responds to the whole conception" of *A Laodicean*. The clash is, of

course, most explicitly brought out at the close of the novel; to Somerset's final optimistic conviction that Paula will be herself "again, and recover . . . from the warp given . . . by the mediaevalism" of her castle, she responds somewhat ambiguously: "And be a perfect representative of 'the modern spirit' . . . representing neither the senses and understanding, nor the heart and imagination; but what a finished writer calls 'the imaginative reason'? " (p. [481]). The possibly ironic overtones of Paula's answer — the sincerity of which is undercut by her final "I wish my castle wasn't burnt; and I wish you were a de Stancy" (p. [481]) — do not mean, however, that Hardy opposed the concept of the "imaginative reason" *per se*. On the contrary, he expressly subscribed to it; in January 1881, at the time when he was writing *A Laodicean*, he jotted down the following: " 'Style — Consider the Wordsworthian dictum (the more perfectly the natural object is reproduced, the more truly poetic the picture). This reproduction is achieved by seeing into the *heart of a thing* (as rain, wind, for instance), and is realism, in fact, though through being pursued by means of the imagination it is confounded with invention, which is pursued by the same means. It is, in short, reached by what M. Arnold calls "the imaginative reason" ' " (*Life*, p. 147). That, however, Hardy may have felt particular concern for the status of the heart in the conglomerate of the "imaginative reason" is suggested by another note, taken down not long before, and which seems almost a comment on Paula's final words quoted above: " 'Romanticism will exist in human nature as long as human nature itself exists' " (*Life*, p. 147).

1019 M. Arnold, "Joubert," pp. 214–15; Super, II, 184. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with a slight variation.

Hardy owned Henry Attwell, *Pensées of Joubert* (1877); see Wreden, item 237.

1020 *Ibid.*, pp. 231–32; Super, III, 196. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations. The marginal stroke is in pencil.

1021 *Ibid.*, p. 235; Super, III, 198. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation.

1022 *Ibid.*, p. 241; Super, III, 202. E. Hardy's hand. Quotation. Cf. " 'To find beauty in ugliness is the province of the poet' " (*Life*, p. 213), and Hardy's comment from 1901 in "Literary Notes II" on Shaw and a literary critic who commend Ibsen: "But neither writer dwells sufficiently on the fact that Ibsen's defect is a lack of the essentiality of beauty to art, T.H."

1023 "Richard Wagner in London," *D. News*, May 4, 1877, p. 3. Extracted from: "Wagner's determination to visit England [he arrived on May 1st, 1877] was to his friends a great surprise, and the more so when it became known that

he intended simply to direct a series of concerts of his own music at the Albert Hall. For the composer has always deprecated the performance of his music without the scenic and poetic accompaniments. He has told us that the Art-Work of the Future is to be a combination of music, the drama, poetry, and painting." Hardy may not have been quite prepared to grant such comprehensiveness to Wagner's own achievement: " 'Such music, like any other, may be made to express emotion of various kinds; but it cannot express the subject or reason of that emotion' " (*Life*, p. 181). On the other hand, he readily admired Wagner's grand effort: " 'I prefer late Wagner, as I prefer late Turner, to early (which I suppose is all wrong in taste), the idiosyncrasies of each master being more strongly shown in these strains. When a man not contented with the grounds of his success goes on and on, and tries to achieve the impossible, then he gets profoundly interesting to me" (*Life*, p. 329).

For an interesting study of music and Hardy's art, see Frances Pietch, "The Relationship Between Music and Literature in the Victorian Period: Studies in Browning, Hardy, and Shaw," Diss. Northwestern Univ. 1961.

1024 E. W. G., "A Dutch Milton," *Cornhill*, XXXV (May 1877), 596. Abridged quotation with variations.

1025 *Ibid.*, p. 615. Quotation with a slight variation and summary.
Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679). Dutch Poet and dramatist.

1026 H. Taine, *Notes on England* (London, 1872), pp. 38–39. Summary and quotation with variations.

Hardy remembers Taine's observation in "The Dorsetshire Labourer": "That peculiarity of the English urban poor (which M. Taine ridicules [see next entry], and unfavourably contrasts with the taste of the Continental working-people) — their preference for the cast-off clothes of a richer class to a special attire of their own — has, in fact, reached the Dorset farm folk" (Orel, p. 176).

On another occasion, Hardy approvingly quotes Taine's verdict on the writers of the novels of manners: " 'They are far removed . . . from the great imaginations which create and transform. They renounce free invention; they narrow themselves to scrupulous exactness; they paint clothes and places with endless detail' " (Orel, p. 119). Orel traces the quotation to Taine's *History of English Literature*, trans. H. van Laun (New York, 1874), II, 258.

1027 *Ibid.*, p.43. Summary with quotation and variation.
For Hardy's comment, see previous entry.

1028 "Alfred de Musset," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIII (May 19, 1877), 618. Quotation from a review of Paul de Musset, *Biographie de Alfred de Musset* (Paris, 1877).

Hardy owned Musset's *Premières Poésies 1827–1835* (Paris, 1881) and *Poésies Nouvelles 1836–1852* (Paris, n.d.). Both volumes are signed "Thomas Hardy" on the title pages (DCM). See also entry A7.

1029 George Otto Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (London, 1876), I, 39. Quotation with variations.

Sir William Henry Maule (1788–1858), judge. For a general note on Macaulay, see entry 21n.

1030 *Ibid.*, I, 62. Quotation with slight variations.

1031 "Difficulties of Eccentricity," *Sat. Rev.* XLIII (June 23, 1877), 758. Comment and abridged quotation with annotation.

1032 *Lectures Françaises or Extracts in Prose from Modern French Authors*, ed. Léonce Stièvenard, 2nd ed. (London, 1862), p. 362. I have not been able to trace any published English version that Hardy could have copied, and the entry may be Hardy's own translation. In entry 1098 there is a page reference that tallies with the 2nd ed. of Stièvenard's anthology. Hardy studied French "a term or two under Professor Stièvenard" (*Life*, p. 49).

1033 "Diamonds," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIII (June 16, 1877), 745. Summary.

1034 G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (see entry 1029n), I, 446. Annotation and quotation with a slight variation.

For a general note on Macaulay, see entry 21n.

1035 *Ibid.*, I, 449. Annotations and quotation with variations.

1036 *Ibid.*, I, 452–53. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

1037 *Ibid.*, I, 465. Quotation with a slight variation.

1038 *Ibid.*, I, 467. Annotations and quotation. The parenthetical reference is to p. 440.

1039 *Ibid.*, II, 125–26. Summary and quotation with a slight variation.

1040 *Ibid.*, II, 126. Abridged quotation.

1041 *Ibid.*, II, 180. Comment, summary, and quotation with slight variations.

1042 *Ibid.*, II, 245. Quotation.

1043 *Ibid.*, II, 246. Quotation with slight variations and annotation.

1044 *Ibid.*, I, 146–47. Annotations and abridged quotation with reversed sentence order and slight variations.

1045 *Ibid.*, II, 269. Annotation and abridged quotation with slight variations.

For brief general notes on most of the historians here mentioned, consult the Index. To what extent Hardy agreed with Macaulay's estimate is, of course, unknown. But, he is certain to have valued the historical perspective on religions of the "smoothly shaven historian so ironically civil to Christianity" (*Jude*, p. 93) — Gibbon — higher than that of Macaulay. Hardy owned *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 7 vols., Bohn British Classics (London, 1853). It is now in the DCM; the half-title of vol. I is signed "Thomas Hardy." The work shows many traces of Hardy's reading, but most heavily marked are, as Wright (p. 11) has noted, vol. II, ch. 23, on the religion of Julian (which Sue reads, *Jude*, p. 111) and vol. III, ch. 28, on the defeat of Paganism. Hardy also marked a passage in ch. 15, which — in addition to the well-known extracts from Gibbon in *Jude* — also seems to be reflected in the novel: Gibbon's playfully evasive and ironical stand on the problem of the miracles of the primitive church — that the "duty of an historian does not call upon him to interpose his private judgment in this nice and important controversy" (II, 38). With reference to the marriage question in *Jude*, towards which, despite his public statements to the contrary, Hardy was not unbiassed, he assumed an attitude, which in its very echoing of Gibbon seems intended to convey Hardy's point of view: "The purpose of a chronicler of moods and deeds does not require him to express his personal views upon the grave controversy above given" (*Jude*, p. 348). In the Preface to *The Woodlanders* Hardy quotes Gibbon's very words (Orel, p. 20). Cf. also Hardy's poem "Lausanne: in Gibbon's Old Garden." and Purdy's observation that the "MS. adds as a note to the closing lines, 'Prose Works: "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce" ' " (Purdy, p. 111).

In an annotation in his copy of Richard Whately, *Elements of Logic* (1831), Hardy defends Gibbon's style (which he had earlier studied, see "Critical Introduction." p. xii) and particularly it seems, the technique he himself imitated in the *Jude* passage above quoted [Wreden, item 31, describes the note]: "Whately comments on Gibbon's writings as follows: 'His way of writing reminds one of those persons who never dare look you full in the face.' Hardy answers in the following note: 'If so, it was the fault of his age, not of himself'." In a letter to E. Clodd in 1916, Hardy again expresses his admiration for Gibbon's style: ". . . I have just finished the reading of your memorial lecture on Gibbon . . . [*Conway Memorial Lecture: Gibbon and Christianity* . . . (London,

1916)]. You have, of course, limited or mainly limited, your discourse to the renowned 15th and 16th Chapters. My suspicion is that when people say they have been 'reading Gibbon' they have not gone much further than those chapters, though there are so many equally interesting. . . . Gibbon's style, alluded to by your chairman, does not oppress everybody as it does some of the historian's modern readers. I have always rather delighted in it" (*Ashley Library*, X, 77).

1046 *Ibid.*, II, 275–76. Summary and quotation.

1047 *Ibid.*, II, 276. Annotation and quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

1048 *Ibid.*, II. 289. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1049 "The Caxton Celebration," *D. News*, July 2, 1877, p. 2. Summary.

1050 *Loc. cit.* Summary.
John Ker, third Duke of Roxburgh (1740–1804); George John Spencer, second Earl Spencer (1758–1834), one of the founders of the Roxburghe Club on the day of the sale.

1051–54 *Loc. cit.* Summaries.

1055 G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (London, 1876), II, 317. Comment, summary and quotation with slight variations.

1056 *Ibid.*, II, 413. Abridged quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

1057 *Ibid.*, II, 439n. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

1058 *Ibid.*, II, 461. Quotation with slight variations.

1059 "An Interesting Race," *D. News*, July 14, 1877, p. 2. Summary.

1060 Unidentified.

1061 J.H. Bridges, "Evolution and Positivism," *Fort. Rev.*, XXII (July 1, 1877), 89. Annotations and quotation with slight variations from Bridges's survey of the growth of "transcendental calculus" after Descartes. This is the

second part, and conclusion, of an essay beginning in the *Fort. Rev.*, June, 1877.

For a brief general note on Bridges, see entry 487n.

1062 *Ibid.*, pp. 93–94. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1063 *Loc. cit.* Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1064 J. Morley, "Three Books of the Eighteenth Century," *Fort. Rev.*, XXII (Aug. 1877), 280; the passage is deleted for Morley's *Works* (XI, 148). Quotation with slight variations. The entry is in pencil.

Hardy notes Morley's discussion of Holbach's attack on theism in the second half of the *System of Nature* (1770): "The conception of God is examined and resisted from every possible side, cosmological, ethical, metaphysical. To say that the argument is one-sided, is only to say that it is an attack. But the fact that the writer omits the contributions made under the temporary shelter of theology to morality and civilisation, does not alter the fact that he states with unsurpassed vigour all that can be said against the intellectual absurdities and moral obliquities that theology has nourished and approved, and only too firmly planted" (p. 280). The passage is incorporated verbatim in Morley's *Diderot and the Encyclopaedists* (1878), and Hardy was to mark the same passage that he quotes here in his own copy of the 1891 ed. of the work (II, 194). See also entry 418n and the note for the next entry.

1065–66 *Ibid.*, p. 268; Morley, *Works*, XI, 135–36 (with some changes). Quotations with variations from Morley's explanation of the major tenets of Holbach's work, particularly his refutation of the idea of Free Will. Since Hardy paid attention to this piece of argumentation not only here but also in his reading of *Diderot* in the 1890's (see below) – and since the concept of Free Will looms large in Hardy scholarship – Morley's exposition is here quoted at some length:

> *All phenomena are necessary*. No creature in the universe, in its circumstances and according to its given property, can act otherwise than as it does act. Fire necessarily burns whatever combustible matter comes within the sphere of its action. Man necessarily desires what either is, or seems to be, conducive to his comfort and wellbeing. There is no independent energy, no isolated cause, no detached activity, in a universe where all beings are incessantly acting on one another, and which is itself only one eternal round of movement, imparted and undergone, according to necessary laws. In a storm of dust raised by a whirlwind, in the most violent tempest that agitates the ocean, not a single molecule of dust or of water finds its place by *chance;* or is without an adequate cause for occupying the precise point where it is found. So, again, in the

> terrible convulsions that sometimes overthrow empires, there is not a single action, word, thought, volition, or passion in a single agent of such a revolution, whether he be a destroyer or a victim, which is not necessary, which does not act precisely as it must act, and which does not infallibly produce the effects that it is bound to produce, conformably to the place occupied by the given agent in the moral whirlwind.
>
> *Order and disorder are abstract terms, and can have no existence in a Nature, where all is necessary and follows constant laws.* Order is nothing more than necessity viewed relatively to the succession of actions. Disorder in the case of any being is nothing more than its passage to a new order; to a succession of movements and actions of a different sort from those of which the given being was previously susceptible. Hence there can never be either monsters or prodigies, either marvels or miracles, in nature. By the same reasoning, we have no right to divide the workings of nature into those of Intelligence and those of Chance. Where all is necessary, Chance can mean nothing save the limitation of man's knowledge. (pp. 268–69; *Works*, XI, 135–36)

In his copy of *Diderot* Hardy marked from "So, again . . ." to the end of the paragraph (II, 172).

1067 M.E. Grant Duff, "A Plea for a Rational Education," *Fort. Rev.*, (Aug. 1, 1877), 182. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

1068 *Ibid.*, p. 193. Abridged quotation with annotation and slight variations.

A similar sentiment is voiced by Swithin in explaining the self-imposed limitations of his studies: "In these days the secret of productive study is to avoid well" (*Two on a Tower*, p. 57).

1069 Unidentified.

1070 Charles Kingsley, *Alton Locke, The Works of Charles Kingsley* (London, 1880–85), III, 62. Abridged quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

Cf. Hardy's insistence on the value of "Unadjusted impressions" or "fugitive impressions" (Orel, pp. 39, 53).

1071 "'Royal and Noble' Gossip," *Cornhill*, XXXVI (Aug. 1877), 185. Comment and abridged quotation with variations.

Marie de Rabutin-Chantel, marquise de Sevigné (1626–96), French woman of letters.

1072–74 *Ibid.*, pp. 188–89. Mixtures of summaries and quotations.

François de La Mothe Le Vayer (1588–1672), French writer and philosopher.

1075 "Sarcey on the Comédie Française," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIV (Aug. 25, 1877), 237. Comment, summary, and quotation with slight variations.

1076 Frank H. Hill, "Antithetic Fallacies," *Fort. Rev.*, XXII (Sept. 1, 1877), 397. Annotation and quotation with slight variations. The entry should perhaps be taken into consideration in an assessment of Hardy's attitudes towards, among others, Fourier (entry 1n) and Comte (entry 618n).

1077 "General Home Intelligence: 'Sale of Shorthorns'," *D.C.C.* Sept. 13, 1877, p. 14. Summary.

1078 Unidentified.

1079 The immediate source for the entry is unidentified, but on a loose notebook sheet in the DCM, Hardy jotted down the following (in pencil): "In this world there are few voices & many echoes. G.H. Lewes." The wording of entry 1079 shows, however, that Lewes's biography of Goethe (see entry 105n) is not the direct source.

1080 "Captain the Hon. E.H.T. Digby's speech," *D.C.C.*, Nov. 8, 1877, pp. 4–5. Part summary, part quotation.

1081 "Foreign Refugees in London," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIV (Nov. 3, 1877), 546. Annotation and quotation.

1082 "Suttee," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIV (Nov. 17, 1877), 610. Annotations and abridged quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

1083 Possibly a summary from "Trollope's Life of Pius IX," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIV (Dec. 1, 1878), 684, a review of T. Adolphus Trollope, *The Story of the Life of Pius the Ninth*, 2 vols. (London, 1877).

1084 H. Barton Baker, "The Parisian Salons of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Belgravia*, XXXIV (Jan. 1878), 335. Summary with key phrases quoted.

1085 "The 'Supers' of Society," *The World*, May 15, 1878, p. 8. Annotation and abridged quotation with slight variations.

For Hardy's view of *The World* as a publication, see *One Rare Fair Woman*, pp. 63, 66.

1086 John Campbell Shairp, "Criticism and Creation," *Macmillan's Magazine*, XXXVIII (July, 1878), 246–47. Mixture of quotation and summary.

1087 *Loc. cit.* Hardy's reference to "Clas. Dic." may be to the standard W. Smith, *New Classical Dictionary of Biography, Mythology, and Geometry* (London, 1850), or to his own smaller version of the same work (see entry 84n).

1088 John Ford, *The Broken Heart*, II, iii. In ed. by D.K. Anderson, Regents Renaissance Drama Series (London, 1968), p. 43. Hardy's edition unidentified.

1089 *Ibid.*, II, i.; Anderson, p. 27.

1090 *Ibid.*, III, v.; Anderson, p. 64.

1091–95 The entries are based on H. de Balzac's "Another Study of Woman." As in the case with entries 245 and 257–62, the edition Hardy used is unidentified. In *La Grande Bretêche and other Stories*, trans. Clara Bell (London, 1896), the passages corresponding to Hardy's extracts are found on pp. 12–16.

1096 Unidentified.

1097 *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Peter Cunningham (London, 1857–59), III, 212. Summary. This letter was published for the first time in Cunningham's edition.

The *Letters to Sir Horace Mann* which Hardy records having read "in six volumes" in 1869 (*Life*, p. 59) were never published in 6 vols. There was, however, a 6 vols. ed. of *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, with "Reminiscences of the Courts of George I and George II," ed. J. Wright (London, 1840). This seems to have been the direct source for an entry on the liasons and marriages of George I and George II in the "Studies, Specimens &c" Notebook, for he refers to "Walpole's Letters and Reminiscences," and the entry is dated "Sept. 68."

In *The Hand of Ethelberta* Hardy brings, somewhat awkwardly perhaps, Walpole's letters into a tender scene between Christopher and Picotee (p. 457; see also p. 331). Other references are found in *One Rare Fair Woman*, pp. 37, 201.

1098 *Lectures Françaises or Extracts in Prose from Modern French Authors*, ed. Léonce Stièvenard, 2nd. ed. (London, 1862), p. 270. As in the case of entry 1032, this seems to be based on Hardy's own translation.

1099 Leader, *D. News*, May 23, 1879, p. 4. Abridged quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

1100 M.A. Thiers, *History of the Consulate and the Empire of France under Napoleon* (London 1845–62), XX, 71. Summary.

Hardy owned a copy of this work (Hodgson, item 2). For Hardy's use of Thiers in *The Dynasts*, see Wright, *passim*.

1101 Unidentified.

1102 Matthew Arnold, "Wordsworth," *Macmillan's Magazine*, XL (July, 1879), 198; Super, IX, 44. Quotation with slight variations. The essay is, with some changes, the same as the Preface to *Poems of Wordsworth* (London, 1879), but that the periodical is Hardy's immediate source is suggested by the list of authors in entry 1103, which is identical with that of *Macmillan's* but different from that of the Preface.

The "application of ideas to life" is central to Hardy's critical beliefs: see "Critical Introduction," pp. xxii ff.

Hardy describes his own earliest extant poem, "Domicilium," as "Wordsworthian lines" (*Life*, p. 4), and his profound acquaintance with, and interest in, Wordsworth are reflected in a great number of quotations in the "Studies, Specimens &c" Notebook and acknowledged throughout the *Life*. The Wordsworthian allusions in Hardy's writings have been discussed and well analyzed in several studies; for a convenient list of the allusions, see Pinion, pp. 214–15; for fine critical observations on many of them, see, for instance, Bailey, pp. 159–60, 312–13; Millgate, pp. 270–71, 347–48; Rutland, pp. 15–17; 231; and Springer, pp. 62, 102, 128, 203. See also Purdy, p. 113, for a letter with a pertinent note on Hardy's "The Widow." Wright, pp. 79–80, offers an interesting discussion of Hardy's copy of an 1864 ed. of Wordsworth.

Hardy's admiration for Wordsworth's poetry was somewhat tempered by his disagreement with its philosophy and with Wordsworth's late didactic tendencies: " . . . I consider myself a faithful Wordsworthian, but not to the extent of those who follow him into the years when he became parochial & commonplace" (Hardy to Wise, Dec. 20, 1916 [British Museum]). Cf. also his note from the following year: " 'I hold that the mission of poetry is to record impressions, not convictions. Wordsworth in his later writings fell into the error of recording the latter" (*Life*, pp. 377–78). This may seem an odd complaint from a writer with Hardy's cast of mind and habit of philosophical excursions, but see "Critical Introduction," pp. xxii ff. for a brief discussion of Hardy's distinction between the "application of ideas to life" principle and didacticism. Despite Hardy's rejection of Wordsworth's ideology, especially his view of Nature (succinctly developed by Millgate, pp. 370–71), the permanence of his

indebtedness to Wordsworth — and Hardy's readiness to admit it — is clearly shown in no less than four allusions in his late "Apology" (Orel, pp. 51, 52, 56, 57). See also DeLaura (pp. 398–99) who persuasively maintains that, despite Hardy's "expressed contempt for a Wordsworthian benevelence and theism in *Tess* . . . Hardy's deep feeling for the rightness of man in his 'natural' environment and folkways is supported by a stubborn and sentimental residue of the Wordsworthianism he intellectually rejected."

1103 *Ibid.*, pp. 196–97; Super, IX, 41. Summary.

Hardy owned A. De Lamartine, *History of the Girondists*, 3 vols. (1847); see Wreden, item 290.

1104 *Ibid.*, pp. 198–99; Super, IX, 44. Comment and quotation with slight variations.

Cf. Hardy and "the idiosyncratic mode of regard," in the "Critical Introduction," p. xxvii; also entry 101n.

1105 *Ibid.*, p. 199; Super, IX, 46. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

For Hardy's use of the phrase, see entry 1148n; cf. also 1175 and 1180.

1106 *Ibid.*, p. 200; Super, IX, 46–47. Abridged quotation with slight variations. The marginal stroke is in ink. Cf. also entry 1146.

1107 *Ibid.*, p. 200; Super, IX, 47. Quotation with annotations and slight variations. Cf. entry 1146.

1108 *Ibid.*, pp. 202–03; Super, IX, 51–52. Abridged quotation with variations.

Goethe's phrase is echoed in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* to help to characterize Henchard's daughter and her understanding of her predicament: "She felt none of those ups and downs of spirit which beset so many people without cause; never – to paraphrase a recent poet — never a gloom in Elizabeth-Jane's soul but she well knew how it came there" (p. 100). Hardy also found the expression — and the authority behind it — helpful as he emphasized the conscious artistry of William Barnes: "Primarily spontaneous, he was academic closely after; and we find him warbling his native wood-notes with a watchful eye on the predetermined score, a far remove from the popular impression of him as the naif and rude bard who sings only because he must, and who submits the uncouth lines of his page to us without knowing how they come there. Goethe never knew better of his" (Orel, pp. 79–80).

Arnold's idea of the "inevitable" in Wordsworth's poetry seems close to Hardy's notion of "self-proof or obviousness" in fiction (Orel, p. 114).

1109 *Ibid.*, pp. 203–04; Super, IX, 54. Quotation.

1110 E. W. G. "The 'Egil's Saga'," *Cornhill*, XL (July 1879), 21. Summary.

A decade earlier Hardy read "The Saga of Gunnlaug the Worm-Tongue and Rafn the Skald," trans. Eiríkr Magnúson and William Morris, *Fort. Rev.*, XXV (Jan. 1, 1869), 27–56, and he entered two brief passages into his "Studies, Specimens &c" Notebook.

1111 *Ibid.*, p. 22. Quotation with variations.

1112 *Loc. cit.* Summary.

1113 Unidentified.

1114 Henry James, *French Poets and Novelists* (London, 1878), pp. 102–03. Abridged quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

For Hardy and Comte, see entry 618n, and for a brief general note on Balzac, see entry 245n.

Hardy's reaction to Henry James as man and writer was mixed, but mainly, it seems, negative. Thus, the first reference to James in the *Life* has a ring of *Schadenfreude:* Hardy himself was "pressed to join" the Rabelais Club – instituted "as a declaration for virility in literature" – because he was considered "the most virile writer of works of imagination then in London"; James, on the other hand, "after a discussion was rejected for the lack of that quality, though he was afterwards invited as a guest" (*Life*, p. 132). The two men met socially on a number of occasions, but Hardy did not much appreciate James " 'with his nebulous gaze' " and his " 'ponderously warm manner of saying nothing in infinite sentences' " (*Life*, pp. 167, 181). [It is a humourous coincidence that James criticized *Far from the Madding Crowd* for its "ingeniously verbose and redundant style," Cox, p. 28.]

For a long time Hardy appears to have found James's novels as empty as his conversation: [July 9, 1888] " 'Reading H. James's *Reverberator*. After this kind of work one feels inclined to be purposely careless in detail. The great novels of the future will certainly not concern themselves with the minutiae of manners. . . . James's subjects are those one could be interested in at moments when there is nothing larger to think of" (*Life*, p. 211; for Hardy's views on the novel of manners, see "Critical Introduction," pp. xvii, xxii; also *Life*, p. 213, Orel, pp. 118–19). The rejection of James's subjects may not, of course, have been intended to include all his novels. If it was, Hardy's attitude grew milder

with time. In 1903, he wrote to Mrs Henniker that, "James is almost the only living novelist I can read, and taken in small doses I like him exceedingly, being as he is a real man of letters" (*One Rare Fair Woman*, p. 110). Cf. also his note from 1915; " 'Have been reading a review of Henry James. It is remarkable that a writer who has no grain of poetry, or humour, or spontaneity in his productions, can yet be a good novelist. Meredith has some poetry, and yet I can read James when I cannot look at Meredith' " (*Life*, p. 370). See also Hardy's "George Meredith" and Bailey's interesting note on the poem (pp. 258–59).

1115 *Ibid.*, p. 104. Quotation.
For a brief general note on Taine, see entry 1026n.

1116 *Ibid.*, p. 111. Quotation with a variation.

1117 *Ibid.*, p. 112. Quotation with annotations and slight variations as well as reversed sentence order.

1118 Benjamin Disraeli, *The Young Duke*, the Bradenham Ed., (London, 1927), II, 9. Abridged quotation with variations. Since the edition Hardy used has not been identified, the textual descriptions of the entries from Disraeli (1118–29) relate to the Bradenham Edition.

1119 *Ibid.*, p. 16. Quotation with a slight variation.

1120 *Ibid.*, p. 241. Quotation with slight variations.

1121 B. Disraeli, *Coningsby*, the Bradenham Ed., (London, 1927), VIII, 125. Abridged quotation with slight variations. For the textual descriptions of the Disraeli entries, see entry 1118n.

1122 *Ibid.*, p. 131. Quotation with slight variations.

1123 *Ibid.*, p. 132. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

1124 *Ibid.*, pp. 179–81. Annotation and abridged quotation with variations.

1125 *Ibid.*, p. 263. Quotation with variations.

1126 *Ibid.*, p. 412. Annotation and quotation with a variation.

1127 *Ibid.*, p. 415. Annotation and quotation with variations.

1128 *Ibid.*, p. 416. Part summary, part quotation.

1129 *Ibid.*, p. 475. Quotation with a slight variation.

1130 Andrew Wilson, "Concerning Protoplasm," *Gentleman's Magazine* CCXLV (Oct. 1879), 431–32. Summary from an article on the attempts of modern science to explain the origin and nature of Life. Hardy summarizes from the following:

> It cannot be doubted that the research of recent years has at least brought us nearer to our real difficulties than before. It counts for something in a subject like the present that even the boundaries of our knowledge and the environments of our ignorance should be clearly perceived; and this much, at least, the inquiries concerning protoplasm have accomplished. We now know that at last we are face to face with the final stage in the question before us – that the puzzles of protoplasm constitute the one mystery of life. To such a decision every fact of recent research seems to lead. The knowledge that there is not one life of the animal and another existence of the plant, but that both lives are really similar in their essential manifestations, is one fact which leads us directly to regard protoplasm and its constitution as the repositories of the secret of life's nature. One consideration which merits special remark in connection with the subject of protoplasm and its relations to life exists in the apparent truism that all forms of protoplasm, however alike in appearance and composition science may and does declare them to be, are not identical in their potentialities – they do not, in other words, all possess similar powers of becoming similar organisms. The speck which remains an Amœba has no power of evolving from its substance a higher form of life. The protoplasmic spore of a seaweed is a seaweed still, despite its similarity to other or higher forms of plant germs. The germ of the sponge, again, remains possessed of the powers which can convert it into a sponge alone. And the difference between such protoplasmic specks and the germ which is destined to evolve the human frame can only be declared as of immense extent, and as equalling in their nature the wide structural and functional distinctions we draw betwixt the sponge and the man. Of such differences in the inherent nature of protoplasm under different conditions we are as yet in complete ignorance. Their elucidation is really the explanation of heredity or the law of likeness. The mystery why family face and features, along with even habits and gestures, should be rigidly and perfectly transmitted from parent to offspring, really includes the puzzle which besets the real differences between one speck of protoplasm and another and apparently similar speck. (pp. 431–32)

1131 Matthew Arnold, "Preface," *Mixed Essays* (London, 1879), pp. vi–x; Super, VIII, 370–72. Cf. "George Sand," p. 322; Super, p. 220. Part summary, part quotation.

1132 M. Arnold, "George Sand," p. 338; Super, VIII, 230. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

Arnold distinguishes three "grand elements" in George Sand, for which Hardy also is likely to have felt sympathy: "the passion of agony and revolt, the consolation from nature and from beauty, the ideas of social renewal" (p. 322; Super, p. 220). The third of these, "her inspiration for a social new-birth, a *renaissance sociale*" (p. 334; Super, p. 228) is connected with her religion, which is "with peculiar fervency social" (p. 337; Super, p. 229). Thus, for instance, she links the word "love" in the New Testament with social equality. Hardy quotes from one of Arnold's examples of her emotional statements on this subject.

There is a passing reference to the Franco-Prussian War in the *Life*, p. 78.

1133 "Alexandre Dumas," *Sat. Rev.*, XXV (Dec. 17, 1870), 776. Part summary, part quotation.

Victor Hugo appears to have been one of Hardy's favourite French authors, and he omits the article's condescending remark on Hugo's outburst: "We smile in pity when Victor Hugo denounces in apocalyptic epigrams the beleaguerment. . . ." That Hardy started reading Hugo early is evidenced by a number of entries in the "1867" Notebook, and his admiration and affection remained strong. He sent a card to attach to a wreath at Hugo's funeral in 1888 (*Life*, p. 172), and in the same year he went to an exhibition of Hugo's MSS. and drawings (*Life*, p. 209); in 1902 he called Hugo's novels "the cathedrals of literary architecture, his imagination adding greatness to the colossal and charm to the small" (*Life*, p. 311).

Except for the use of the term the *misérables* in *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (p. 258), I have not detected any allusion to Hugo in Hardy's creative writing. There is, however, an interesting instance in "The Profitable Reading of Fiction." Considering "the accidents and appendages" of literature, Hardy suggests that a reader "may be a picker-up of trifles of useful knowledge, statistics, queer historical fact, such as sometimes occur in the pages of Hugo" (Orel, p. 113). As several annotations in this edition suggest, the appeal of this particular element in Hugo's works is reflected in Hardy's own literary theory and practice. See also "Critical Introduction," p. xx–xxi.

Hardy's library once included Hugo's *Ninety-three* (n.d.; Wreden, item 338), and in addition to the works quoted from in the "1867" Notebook, Hardy also read *Toilers of the Sea*; in his copy (DCM) of *The Poems and Ballads of Schiller*, trans. Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton (London, 1857), p. 105 Hardy marked the two last lines of stanza 21 and all of stanza 22 of "The Diver: A Ballad," and wrote in the margin: "cf. V. Hugo Les Travailleurs de la Mer."

1134 M. Arnold, "Preface," *Mixed Essays* (London, 1879), p. x; Super, VIII, 372. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

1135 M. Arnold, "Democracy," pp. 11–12; Super, II, 9. Part annotation, part quotation.

1136 *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13; Super, II, 9–10. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1137 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27. Abridged quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

For other entries on social questions, involving "democracy" and the nature and status of the "masses," see 542, 1138–43, 1151, 1156, 1161, 1264. Hardy's class consciousness is indisputable (see the *Life, passim*), and as J. I. M. Stewart points out, Hardy like Carlyle has a fancy for great men and does not treat simple people as seriously as Tolstoi, the artistocrat (p. 217). Hardy's bias is projected, for instance, in the very imagery employed to describe his background characters: in *The Return of the Native*, they constitute on one occasion a "travelling flock of sheep" (p. 15); in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, the farm labourers, waiting to get paid, move into the house "like the remarkable creatures known as Chain Salpae" (p. 86). This is not to say that Hardy does not feel sympathy for the Wessex, and other, labourers, but his bias is clearly recognizable. For a study of some aspects of the social conditions of the rural poor in Hardy's novels, and of his concern for their plight, see Merryn Williams, *Thomas Hardy and Rural England* (London, 1972).

1138 M. Arnold, "Equality," p. 53; Super, VIII, 280. Annotations and quotation with a slight variation.

1139 *Loc. cit.* Part summary, part quotation.

1140 *Ibid.*, p. 54; Super, VIII, 280. Quotation with variations.

1141 *Ibid.*, p. 65; Super, VIII, 287. Summary.

1142 *Ibid.*, p. 51; Super, VIII, 279; but see also p. 94; Super, p. 303. Annotations and quotation.

1143 *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88; Super, VIII, 299–300. Part summary, part quotation.

1144 M. Arnold, "A French Critic on Milton," pp. 238–39; Super, VIII, 166. Annotation and part summary, part quotation.

To Pinion's helpful list (p. 211) of allusions to Milton, may be added the following: to "Lycidas" in *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (p. 334); to *Paradise Lost* in *Far from the Madding Crowd* (pp. 59, 135), the *Life* (pp. 203, 454), and "Candour

in English Fiction" (Orel, p. 131n). See also Hardy's tendency to detect similarities between himself and Milton: *Life*, pp. 203, 277, 436, and 454. There may also be an ironical allusion to *Comus* in Hardy's accusing authorial intrusion towards the end of Phase the First in *Tess:* "But, might some say, where was Tess's guardian angel? where was the providence of her simple faith?" (pp. 90–91). Cf.:

> O welcome pure-ey'd Faith, white-handed Hope,
> Thou hov'ring Angel girt with golden wings,
> And thou unblemish't form of Chastity,
> I see ye visibly, and now believe
> That he, the Supreme good, t' whom all things ill
> Are but as slavish officers of vengeance,
> Would send a glist'ring Guardian, if need were,
> To keep my life and honor unassail'd. (11. 213–20)

The evidence is perhaps slim, but in the light of Hardy's impressive knowledge of Milton and the similarity of predicament between the Lady and Tess, a conscious allusion on Hardy's part seems a possibility. Cf. also *The Hand of Ethelberta*, p. 362.

The many specific allusions and Milton's widely acknowledged general impact on Hardy have elicited comparatively little critical attention, but some fine observations have been offered: on relevant Hardy poems by Bailey (pp. 134–35, 607–08); on similarities, thematic and stylistic, between *Paradise Lost* and *Tess* by Allan Brick in "Paradise and Consciousness in Hardy's *Tess*," *NCF*, 17 (Sept. 1962), 115–34 and, between Milton's epic and Hardy's, by Harold Orel in "*The Dynasts* and *Paradise Lost*," *Thomas Hardy's Epic-Drama* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1963), pp. 66–85; on affinities in the characterizations of Satan and Napoleon by Frank R. Giordano, Jr. in "The Degradation of Napoleon in the Dynasts," *The Thomas Hardy Yearbook*, 4 (1974), 54–64; on Miltonian echoes as examples of Hardy's allusive technique by Springer, pp. 57, 117, 134, 143, 156. Wright (pp. 15–18) provides an interesting description and persuasive analysis of Hardy's markings in his copies of Milton now in the DCM; equally valuable is his discussion of Milton's influence on Hardy's diction (pp. 72–74). Wright's suggestions here would probably be supported by a study of the mainly stylistic extracts from Milton in the "Studies, Specimens &c" Notebook.

1145 *Ibid.*, pp. 245–46; Super, VIII, 169–70. Abridged quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

1146 J. A. Symonds, "Matthew Arnold's Selections from Wordsworth," *Fort. Rev.*, XXVI (Nov. 1, 1879), 687. Abridged quotation with variations, annota-

tions, and Hardy's underlinings. Hardy's reference to " 'Inns' p. 35 ante" is to entries 1106–07, on p. 135 of "Literary Notes I."

Wright (pp. 10–12) draws attention to some interesting markings of passages from Lucretius in Hardy's copy of *Thoughts from Latin Authors* (cf. entry 175n), but as Wright concludes, "the parallels between the philosophies of the two men are only of a general kind" (p. 11). That Hardy, like Jude (*Jude*, p. 41), knew his Lucretius is seen in a letter to Clodd: "I am glad to see what honour you give to that glorious doubleman – poet and scientist – Lucretius. I see you refer to Munroe's translation. I do not know it, but it seems an extraordinarily close one, to judge from the few passages quoted in your book, which I have tested" (Hardy to Clodd, Jan. 17, 1917 [British Museum]). Clodd later presented Hardy with a copy of Munro's translation (*Life*, p. 453).

Hugh Andrew J. Munro (1819–85), classical scholar.

1147 *Ibid.*, p. 689. Quotation with slight variations and a summary/annotation.

1148 *Ibid.*, p. 690. Quotation with a slight variation and Hardy's underlinings.

As in so many other instances in the "Literary Notes," Hardy resorted also to this entry when he wanted to reinforce and expand the perspective of his own critical writing with the help of reliable authorities. Discussing the subject matters of fiction in "The Profitable Reading of Fiction," he wrote: "Whether we hold the arts which depict mankind to be, in the words of Mr. Matthew Arnold, a criticism of life, or, in those of Mr. Addington Symonds, a revelation of life, the material remains the same, with its sublimities, its beauties, its uglinesses, as the case may be" (Orel, pp. 114–15). The essence of the entry is also recognizable in "Candour in English Fiction," as Hardy commended the plays of Athens and Elizabethan England: "They reflected life, revealed life, criticised life" (Orel, p. 127). See also entries 1105, 1180.

1149 *Loc. cit.* Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1150 *Loc. cit.* Summary with key words quoted.

Hardy notes Symonds's suggestion that Wordsworth's nature poems may become adequate hymns for "congregations for whom the 'cosmic emotion' is a reality and a religion." For Hardy's own concept of the interaction of poetry and religion, see "Apology" (Orel, pp. 56–58), and entry 1151n.

1151 *Ibid.*, pp. 698–701. Abridged quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

A few important points in this extract are echoed in the "Apology" – not surprising in view of the fact that Wordsworth and Arnold are referred to or quoted from no less than eight times in the essay. Thus – within his overall

concern, shared with Symonds, for contemporary and future "mental and emotional life" (Orel, pp. 56–57) – Hardy is apprehensive about the future of " 'high thinking' " at the same time as he deplores the "barbarizing of taste" (Orel, pp. 55–56); like Symonds, he sets his hope on poetry as a mediator between rationality and religion (Orel, p. 57), while emphasizing that "poetry and religion touch each other, or rather modulate into each other" (Orel, p. 56).

The power of poetry to humanize Nature's truths is also brought into Hardy's argumentation against "scientific realism" in "The Science of Fiction." As in this entry, Hardy quotes from "Tintern Abbey": "A sight for the finer qualities of existence, an ear for the 'still sad music of humanity,' are not to be acquired by the outer senses alone . . ." (Orel, p. 137).

1152 Henry James, *Roderick Hudson*, Penguin Modern Classics (1969), p. 39. The exact edition Hardy used is not identified. Annotation and quotation with variations.

1153 *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. Georgina Hogarth and Mamie Dickens (London, 1880), I, 191. Annotation and quotation.

There are but few references to Dickens (*Life*, pp. 41, 53, 76, 302, and Orel, p. 221), and when, in 1912, Hardy was asked to answer a few questions for "Charles Dickens: Some Personal Recollections and Opinions," in the February number of the *Bookman*, he did not have much to contribute: "Hardy answered that, although he had attended readings by Dickens at the Hanover Square Rooms, he did not know Dickens personally, and his literary efforts did not owe much to his influence. 'No doubt they owed something unconsciously, since everybody's did in those days' " (Orel, p. 246).

1154 Henry James, *Hawthorne*, English Men of Letters Series (New York, 1880), p. 12; Tanner, p. 31. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

The only allusion to Hawthorne's works in Hardy that I have found is the following humourous observation on Faith who "like Miss Hepzibah Pyncheon's chicken, possessed in miniature all the antiquity of her progenitors" (*The Hand of Ethelberta*, p. 357). See, however, William F. Hall's persuasive comparison between Clifford in *The House of the Seven Gables*, Dimmesdale in *The Scarlet Letter* and Angel Clare: "Hawthorne, Shakespeare and *Tess:* Hardy's Use of Allusion and Reference," *ES*, 52 (Dec. 1971), 533–42.

1155 *Ibid.*, pp. 12–14; Tanner, pp. 31–33. Annotation and abridged quotation with variations.

1156 *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15; Tanner, p. 33. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

1157 *Ibid.*, p. 104. Tanner, pp. 105–06. Annotation and abridged quotation with slight variations but with reversed sentence order and Hardy's underlining.

Cf. Hardy on the need for "the imaginative reason" (*Life*, p. 147; see also p. 248 and entry 1170).

1158 Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Transformation*, A New Ed. (London, 1872), pp. 2–3. Annotation and quotation with slight variations. A copy, autographed "Hardy," of this edition is in the DCM.

As recorded in the *Life*, Hardy own impression of Rome is singularly similar to that of Hawthorne's novel: "After some days spent in the Holy City Hardy began to feel, he frequently said, its measureless layers of history to lie upon him like a physical weight" (*Life* p. 188).

1159 M. Arnold, "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time," p. 6; Super, III, 261. Quotation with slight variations and an annotation.

There are a few indications suggesting that Hardy used the 3rd (1875) ed. of *Essays in Criticism* for his entries in 1880: in entry 1176 Hardy's spelling of "Renascence" is that of the 3rd ed.; his "about 530 to 430 B.C." is closer to the 3rd than to the previous eds.: cf. entry 1015 and n.; his "It is natural that man . . . ." is identical with the text of the 3rd ed., while the 1st and 2nd have "It is natural, also, . . ."; in entry 1179, Hardy follows the 3rd ed. in using single quotation marks, when the first two eds. have double marks.

1160 *Ibid.*, p. 11; Super, III, 264. Part summary, part quotation.

1161 *Ibid.*, p. 13; Super, III, 265. Quotation with a variation.

1162 *Ibid.*, p. 20; Super, III, 269. Part summary, part quotation.

Although the paragraph from which Hardy quotes has ironical overtones, it does suggest that Arnold realized the necessity of material progress preceding intellectual. This perhaps modifies to some extent the view of Clym in *The Return of the Native* as a "specifically Arnoldian type" (Millgate, p. 136; see also entry 101n). The criticism one can direct towards Clym's ineffective idealism is not immediately applicable to Arnold. Clym, that is, does not have the Arnoldian perspective that the entry reflects. For, as Hardy comments on Clym's activities on Egdon: "A man who advocates aesthetic effort and deprecates social effort is only likely to be understood by a class to which social effort has become a stale matter" (*Return*, p. 204). This is not to argue, however, that Clym is free from Arnoldian ideas, only that he distorts some of them.

1163 *Ibid.*, p. 32; Super, III, 276. Quotation.

1164 *Ibid.*, p. 44; Super, III, 283. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1165 *Loc. cit.* Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1166 M. Arnold, "The Literary Influence of Academies," pp. 70–86; Super, III, 245–53. Part summary, part quotation. The essay is also quoted in entries 1015, 1181–82.

A note from November, 1880 expresses partial dissent from Arnold's views on provincialism: " 'Arnold is wrong about provincialism, if he means anything more than a provincialism of style and manner in exposition. A certain provincialism of feeling is invaluable. It is of the essence of individuality, and is largely made up of that crude enthusiasm without which no great thoughts are thought, no great deeds done' " (*Life*, pp. 146–47).

For a general note on Newman, see entry 2n.

1167 *Ibid.*, pp. 84–86; Super, III, 253–54. Annotation and abridged quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

1168 M. Arnold, "Maurice de Guérin," p. 111; Super, III, 23. Annotation and abridged quotation with slight variations. Also quoted in entry 1016.

Lamennais, Hugues Félicité Robert de (1782–1854), French priest, philosopher, and political writer. In 1869 Hardy copied two, primarily, it seems, stylistic excerpts into the "Studies, Specimens &c" Notebook from Edward Dowden's very favourable article on the priest who became an ardent socialist, "Lamennais," *Fort. Rev.*, XXV (Jan, 1, 1869), 1–26.

1169 *Ibid.*, p. 119; Super, III, 28. Abridged quotation.

1170 *Ibid.*, p. 93; Super, III, 12. Abridged quotation with an annotation, slight variations, and Hardy's underlining. Cf. also entry 1157.

1171 *Ibid.*, p. 123; Super, III, 30. Summary and annotation.

See "Critical Introduction," pp. xxvi–xxvii and entries 1018, 1176.

1172 *Ibid.*, pp. 123–24; Super, III, 30. Abridged quotation with slight variations, Hardy's underlining, and a concluding summary.

1173 M. Arnold, "Heine," p. 182; Super, III, 107. Annotation and quotation with slight variations. Also quoted from in entry 1017.

1174 *Ibid.*, p. 182; Super, 107–08. Annotation and part quotation, part summary. Cf. also entry 1017.

1175 *Ibid.*, pp. 204–05; Super, III, 120–22. Part summary, part quotation. Cf. entry 1017 and "Critical Introduction," pp. xxii ff.

For a list of allusions to Scott and an interesting comparison of the two authors, see Pinion, pp. 211–13. See also entry 1257n. Hardy's somewhat extravagant praise of Scott – he selects, for instance, *The Bride of Lammermoor* as his one example in "The Profitable Reading of Fiction" of an "almost perfect specimen of form" – has caused some suspicion about Hardy's literary taste. That he was influenced by Scott in his aesthetic theories is revealed by his choice of epigraph from Scott for his first published novel, *Desperate Remedies*. And, in the "Studies, Specimens &c" Notebook there are several stylistic excerpts from Scott. Millgate (pp. 30–31) rightly emphasises the significance of Hardy's early and deliberate identification of himself with the writers of romance as well as the importance of Scott as a source for his conception of romance as a literary form (p. 185). See also J. H. Mould, "Regionalism in Scott and Hardy," Diss. Manchester Univ. 1952. In this context, however, Hardy's regard for W. H. Ainsworth should also be noted: see, for instance, S. M. Ellis, "Thomas Hardy: Some Personal Recollections," *F.R.*, CXXIII (March, 1928), 395.

Hardy's reaction to Shelley is more ambivalent. On the one hand there is enthusiastic approval: Hardy selects for the symposium "Fine Passages in Verse and Prose; Selected by Living Men of Letters," Shelley's *Lament*, "O world, O life, O time," as "one of the most beautiful of English lyrics" (Orel, p. 107); he defends Shelley against Arnold's criticism (the present entry possibly included) as he exemplifies the vagaries of criticism by marvelling at "what such appreciativeness as Arnold's could allow his prejudices to say about the highest-soaring among all our lyricists" (Orel, p. 81); into his private "Studies, Specimens &c" he copies from *The Revolt of Islam*. On the other hand, Hardy was both repelled by, and attracted to, the ethereal, fastidious nature of Shelley's love poetry. It seems significant that Hardy associates the least attractive traits in two of his main characters with Shelleyan notions. Thus it is with Angel Clare: ". . . he was, in truth, more spiritual than animal; he had himself well in hand, and was singularly free from grossness. Though not cold-natured, he was rather bright than hot – less Byronic than Shelleyan; could love desperately, but with a love more especially inclined to the imaginative and ethereal; it was a fastidious emotion which could jealously guard the loved one against his very self" (*Tess*, pp. 246–47). Sue Bridehead is attributed with the same fastidiousness, which so aggravates Jude, and she likes to see herself in terms of "Epipsychidion" (*Jude*, p. 294). It should also be remembered, however, that Hardy was familiar with Shelley's advocacy of ideas which he warmly supported himself, through Sue, in *Jude the Obscure*. Cf., for instance, Sue's castigation of the obligations of

marriage to "feel in a particular way in a matter whose essence is its voluntariness! ," and her consequent fear of marrying Jude: "Don't you think it is destructive to a passion whose essence is its gratuitousness? " (pp. 255, 327), with the following observation by Shelley, quoted in Bagehot's *Estimates* (London, 1858), p. 280, which Hardy read (*Life*, p. 33): " 'Love withers under constraint: its very essence is liberty; it is compatible neither with obedience, jealousy, nor fear. . . . A husband and wife ought to continue united only so long as they love each other.' "

For a list of allusions to Shelley, see Pinion, pp. 213–14; see also Pinion's interesting discussion of the Shelleyan idealism with which Hardy invested Mrs Henniker (*One Rare Fair Woman*, p. xxxvi; also letters pp. 14, 17, 61, 63, 66). For additional secondary sources, see Phyllis Bartlett, " 'Seraph of Heaven': A Shelleyan Dream in Hardy's Fiction," *PMLA*, LXX (Sept. 1955), 624–35, and "Hardy's Shelley," *Keats-Shelley Journal*, IV (Winter, 1955), 15–29; J. A. Bailey, "Hardy's Visions of the Self," *SP*, 56 (Jan. 1959), 84–85; DeLaura, p. 392; Roland A. Duerksen, *Shelleyan Ideas in Victorian Literature* (The Hague, 1966), pp. 160–65; Michael E. Hasset, "Compromised Romanticism in *Jude the Obscure*," *NCF*, XXV (March 1971), 432–43. Millgate, pp. 299, 300, 304, 319, 320, 359; Springer, pp. 60, 64, 65, 160; Wright, pp. 17–20, 81–83.

1176 M. Arnold, "Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment," pp. 243–57; Super, III, 222–31. Part summary, part quotation. Cf. entries 1018 and 1171.

On Hardy's "Hellenism," see the brief note in the "Critical Introduction," p. xxv and entry 1189. For the allusions to "the imaginative reason" in *A Laodicean*, see entry 1018n.

1177 *Ibid.*, p. 257; Super, III, 231. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

1178 *Ibid.*, p. 256; Super, III, 230. Quotation.

See entry 1176n for Hardy's "Hellenism," and cf. also Angel Clare's daring remark to his father "that it might have resulted far better for mankind if Greece had been the source of the religion of modern civilization, and not Palestine" (*Tess*, p. 203).

1179 M. Arnold, "Joubert," pp. 340–41; Super, III, 202. Abridged quotation with slight variations. Also quoted from in entry 1022.

1180 *Ibid.*, pp. 252–53; Super, III, 209. Abridged quotation with variations.

For literature as a "criticism of life," see also entries 1105, 1148.

1181 M. Arnold, "The Literary Influence of Academies," p. 75; Super, III, 248. Also quoted from in entries 1015, 1166–67.

1182 *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75; Super, III, 247–48. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

1183 "Interference," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIX (Feb. 21, 1880), 242. Annotation and abridged quotation with variations.

1184 *Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat*, trans. C. Hoey and J. Lillie (London, 1880), I, 141. Quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

1185 Unidentified.

1186 "Lunacy," *The Times*, April 13, 1880, p. 5. Summary.

1187 "M. Renan's Hibbert Lectures," *The Times*, April 14, 1880, p. 4. Annotation and quotation.

As reported in "Renan on the Origin of Christianity," *Sat. Rev.*, XLIX (April 10, 1880), 468–69, Renan started to give the third course of Hibbert lectures on April 6, 1880. The Hibbert Trust was founded to promote "free and scientific treatment of religious and theological subjects," and Renan's subject was "The Influence of the Institutions, Thought, and Culture of Rome on Christianity and the Development of the Catholic Church" (p. 468). Hardy was in London at the time, and the entries may be notes from the actual lectures.

1188 "M. Renan's Hibbert Lectures," *The Times*, April 15, 1880, p. 6. Summary. See also previous annotation.

1189 "Debased Hellenism and the New Renaissance," *The Church Quarterly Review*, X (April, 1880), 107. Summary from a review essay on E. Zeller, *Socrates and the Socratic Age* (London, 1868–1877), J. A. Symonds, *The Greek Poets* (London, 1873–77), H. A. Pater, *Studies in the Renaissance* (London 1873–77), A. F. Rio, *De l'Art Chrétien* (Paris, 1836–55), and *Mozley's University Sermon on Nature* (London, 1876).

The entry ignores the article's negative attitude towards modern "Hellenism." For a brief mention of Hardy's use of "Hellenism" as a view of life, see "Critical Introduction," p. xxv, and my forthcoming "Thomas Hardy's 'Hellenism.'"

1190 Leslie Stephen, "An Attempted Philosophy of History," *Fort. Rev.*, XXVII (April, 1880), 677. Annotations and quotation with slight variations.

Stephen argues that J. S. Mill had no sound understanding of history, but Hardy does not record Stephen's criticism. Hardy ranked himself with the young students in the 1860's who knew *On Liberty* "almost by heart," and he listed "Of Individuality" as one of his "cures for despair" (*Life*, pp. 330, 58). His

profound admiration for Mill is well documented and commented on: Evelyn Hardy (pp. 68–70) and Wright (pp. 31–34) offer revealing accounts and analyses of Hardy's markings in his copy of *On Liberty* (1867 ed.; DCM); Rutland (pp. 65–70) discusses Mill's general influence as well as particular traces of it in *The Dynasts.* For brief but valuable observations, see also Bailey, pp. 144, 150–52, 238–39; Howe, pp. 13–15; Pinion, pp. 207–08; Stewart, p. 42; Weber, pp. 40–41; Webster, pp. 44–45, 51.

1191 *Ibid.*, p. 678. Summary.

Cf. Hardy's notice of a similar concept from another source: in a speech given in 1910 he observed that as "a German author has said, 'Nothing is permanent but change' " (*Life*, p. 352); the author is Ludwig Börne (1786–1837), to whom Hardy also alluded in *The Well-Beloved*: "In Börne's phrase, nothing was permanent in her [Pierston's ideal woman] but change" (p. 51); see also the description of Reynard in "The First Countess of Wessex," as "a philosopher who saw that the only constant attribute of life is change" (*A Group of Noble Dames*, p. 43).

1192 *Loc. cit.* Quotation.

1193 Ibid., p. 679. Summary.

Cf. entry 895n.

1194 *Loc. cit.* Annotations and abridged quotation with slight variations.

1195 *Ibid.*, p. 683. Abridged quotation.

For a brief note on Hardy and History, see entry 1248n.

1196 Unidentified.

1197 Leader, *The Times*, May 13, 1880, p. 9. Quotation with slight variations.

1198 "Mr. Newton on Greek Art," *The Times*, May 22, 1880, p. 6. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

See also entry 366n for a reference to Pheidias as a non-realist. In "The Profitable Reading of Fiction," Hardy contends that "despite the claims of realism . . . the best fiction, like the highest artistic expression in other modes, is more true, so to put it, than history or nature can be"; to support this claim, Hardy resorts also to the element of stylization in ancient sculpture: "To take an example from sculpture: no real gladiator ever died in such perfect harmony with normal nature as is represented in the well-known Capitoline marble. There was always a jar somewhere . . . which did not essentially appertain to the

situation, and tended toward neutralizing its pathos; but this the sculptor omitted, and so consecrated his theme" (Orel, p. 117).

Sir Charles Thomas Newton (1816–94), archaeologist.

1199 *Loc. cit.* Part summary, part quotation.

1200 Auguste Comte, Preface, *Theory of the Future of Man*, trans. R. Congreve, vol. IV of *System of Positive Polity* (London, 1877), p. xii. Annotation and quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

For a general note on Comte, see entry 618n.

1201 The diagram is Hardy's own, presumably based on vol. IV of *System of Positive Polity*.

1202 "The Mysteries of the Basement," *The World*, June 16, 1880, p. 8. Quotation with a slight variation.

1203 Karl Hillebrand, "Familiar Conversations on Modern England," *The Nineteenth Century*, VIII (June, 1880), 1003. Part summary, part quotation from an article in the form of a dialogue between a German and an Englishman on modern England, especially English religious life. The article, though mild in its tone, is critical of, for instance, the influence of the Evangelical movement, the inefficiency of the clergy, and the separation between the highly intellectual English believers on the one hand, and the religious fanatics on the other.

1204 *Ibid.*, p. 1007. Quotation with variations.

1205 *Ibid.*, p. 1008. Quotation.

In *A Laodicean* (began in 1880 and completed in May 1881, see Purdy, pp. 39–40) Hardy uses the phrase to describe the rhetoric of Woodwell, the Baptist minister: "He was gifted with a burning natural eloquence, which, though perhaps a little too freely employed in exciting the 'Wertherism of the uncultivated,' had in it genuine power" (p. 230). Later in the novel there is a second allusion to Goethe as Paula and her company visit the house he inhabited in Strassburg (p. 334).

1206 *Ibid.*, p. 1014. Part summary, part quotation.

1207 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with variations.

In *A Laodicean*, which Hardy was writing at the time he made this entry, he uses the term *prédilection d'artiste* conspicuously and, perhaps, excessively: in addition to the retained occurrences (pp. 124, 250, 371), there was also one in

the serial version [*Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* II, (1880), 134], which was changed to "artistic preference" for the 1st ed. (II, 114). The term is consistently attached to Paula, and may conceivably have been intended to accentuate her tendency towards artificiality and lack of deeper convictions.

There is also a reference to Schlegel's concept of " 'the Universal Sympathy of human nature — the spectator idealized' " in Hardy's explanation of the role of the Pities in *The Dynasts* (Orel, p. 41).

1208 *Ibid.*, p. 1015. Part summary, part quotation.

1209 *Ibid.*, p. 1016. Part summary, part quotation.

1210 *Ibid.*, p. 995. Part summary, part quotation. Hardy changes the passage from a question to a proposition.

1211 *Ibid.*, pp. 997—1000. Part summary, part quotation.

1212 *Ibid.*, p. 1001. Quotation with slight variations.

1213 Frederic Harrison, "The Creeds — Old and New," *The Nineteenth Century*, VIII (Oct. 1880), 531. Summary.

Of the many personal contacts that Hardy had with the English Positivists, the one with Frederic Harrison may well have been the most important. Despite occasional differences of opinion — made public on both sides (see, for instance, the "Apology," Orel, p. 53) — their friendship lasted more than forty years, as Hardy affectionately recalled, on hearing about Harrison's death, in a letter to his friend's son in 1923: "... I had known him for probably a longer period than you may be aware of: from the time when he was living in Westbourne Terrace, & I was a resident in a London suburb, you being then a boy. . . . This must have been more than forty years ago. I was, of course, quite familiar with the lectures at Newton Hall" (Hardy to Austin Harrison, Jan. 21, 1923 [Texas]). Hardy's attendance at the positivist meetings at Newton Hall is also mentioned in the *Life* (p. 220). For an account of the founding of Newton Hall (opened in 1881) and its activities, see John Edwin McGee, *A Crusade for Humanity: The History of Organized Positivism in England* (London, 1931), pp. 152 ff.

In addition to public lectures and private conversations, Hardy familiarized himself with Harrison's thought through what appears to have been both extensive and careful reading of his works: he quoted a number of Harrison's articles in the "Literary Notes"; he marked several passages in *The Choice of Books and Other Literary Pieces* (see entry 94n); he read *The Positive Evolution of Religion* (1913), in which, incidentally, Hardy found Harrison "a trifle hard upon the Dissenters" (Hardy to Harrison, Nov. 13, 1913 [Texas]). For a more

detailed discussion of Hardy and Harrison, see my forthcoming *Psychological Vision and Social Criticism in the Novels of Thomas Hardy.*

1214 *Ibid.*, p. 530. Quotation with variations from Harrison's call for a study of history including nothing "less than the full range of human history."

1215 W. H. Mallock, "The late Professor Clifford's Essays," *Edin. Rev.* CLI (April, 1880), 491. Part summary, part quotation from a review of William Kingdon Clifford, *Lectures and Essays*, ed. Leslie Stephen and Frederick Pollock (London, 1879).

Hardy notes a section dealing with Clifford on the question of human consciousness:

> What is consciousness? or rather, What is knowledge? Unlike the majority of modern men of science, Clifford saw that the methods which are commonly called scientific, though they might rear up a vast superstructure of knowledge, yet left the foundations of it to take care of themselves, and that it was possible, unless these were looked to, to undermine them completely. He saw that all material analysis of the universe, all discoveries as to the connexion of mind with brain, all theories of sight and of sensation, and the getting together and transmission of various kinds of knowledge, might, from one point of view, be plausibly worthless, and be robbed of all the meaning they were supposed to have. Let us trace all existing things to atoms, and out of the movements of these atoms trace the formation of the body and brain of man, yet from one point of view we have made no advance whatever. The question still remains, what are these atoms?
>
> . . . . . .
>
> If we say that an atom is the ultimate unit of things, we mean by an atom something that, were our senses fine enough, would exist for us as an individual feeling. And Clifford saw that it was needful to maintain science as something more than the analysis of feelings of the individual. The progress of philosophy in this respect, Clifford said, began with Berkeley, 'who established, in a security that has never yielded to attack, the subjective character of the world of phenomena: that this world I perceive is my perceptions, and nothing more.' But besides these perceptions, said Berkeley, there is also a spirit, a *me* that perceives them. And 'to get rid,' says Clifford, 'of this imaginary soul or substance was the work of Hume.'

The article's account of how Clifford arrived at his concept of "mind-stuff" may also deserve to be quoted at some length, since, as we shall see below, Hardy found this concept "attractive":

> Mind, or consciousness, is an exceedingly complex thing. It is not a unit, as thinkers used to suppose. Mind, consciousness, or a sense of

personality, consists of 'a stream of feelings so compact together that at each instant it consists of (1) new feelings, (2) fainter repetitions of previous ones, and (3) links connecting these repetitions.' Now we know from the highest scientific authorities that 'the complexity of consciousness is paralleled by complexity of action in the brain,' and there is reason to believe that 'as consciousness coexists with elementary brain motion, so elementary feeling coexists with elementary brain motion.' From this Clifford argues, it follows that elementary feeling does not imply consciousness, but that without consciousness 'a feeling can exist by itself.' He continues thus: —

'If that doctrine be true, we shall have along the line of the human pedigree a series of imperceptible steps connecting inorganic matter with ourselves. To the later members of that series we must undoubtedly ascribe consciousness, although it must of course have been simpler than our own. . . . As we go back along the line, the complexity of the organism and of its nerve-action insensibly diminishes; and for the the first part of our course we see reason to think that the complexity of consciousness insensibly diminishes also. But if we make a jump, say to the tunicate molluscs, we see no reason to infer the existence of consciousness at all. Yet not only is it impossible to point out a place where any sudden break takes place, but it is contrary to all the natural training of our minds to suppose a breach of continuity so great. . . . There is only one way out of the difficulty, and to that we are driven. . . . As the line of ascent is unbroken, and must end at last in inorganic matter, we have no choice but to admit that every motion of matter is simultaneous with some ejective fact or event, which might be a part of consciousness. . . . From this follow two important corollaries. (1) A feeling can exist by itself, without forming a part of consciousness. It does not depend for its existence on the consciousness of which it may form a part. Hence a feeling (or an eject-element) is a *Ding an sich*, an absolute, whose existence is not relative to anything else. *Sentitur* is all that can be said. (2) These eject-elements, which correspond to motions of matter, are connected together in their sequence and co-existence by conterparts of the physical laws of matter. . . . 'That element then,' Clifford proceeds, 'of which, as we have seen, even the simplest feeling is a complex, I shall call *mind-stuff*. A moving molecule of inorganic matter does not possess mind or consciousness, but it possesses a small piece of mind-stuff . . . and, when matter takes the complex form of a living human brain, the corresponding mind-stuff takes the form of a human consciousness, having intelligence, and volition. . . . The two chief points of this doctrine may be thus summed up: — Matter is a mental picture, in which mind-stuff is the thing represented. Reason, intelligence, and volition are properties of a complex which is made up of elements themselves not rational, not intelligent, not conscious.'

Replying to a few metaphysical questions raised in a letter from Roden Noel in 1892, Hardy recalled Clifford's "mind-stuff" and wrote:

> As to one thing you say: if the body be only sensations plus perceptions & concepts, then to hold that the ego may be related to many more forms of corporeity than the one our senses inform us of at present is a gratuitous assumption without ground. You may call the whole human race a single ego if you like; & in that view a man's consciousness may be said to pervade the world; but nothing is gained. Each is, to all knowledge, limited to his own frame. Or with Spinoza, & the late W. K. Clifford, you may call all matter mind-stuff (a very attractive idea this, to me) but you cannot find the link (at least I can't) of one form of consciousness with another. (Hardy to Noel, April 3, 1892 [Texas])

1216 Herbert Spencer, "Political Integration," *Fort. Rev.*, XXIX Jan. 1, 1881), 16. Part of the entry may be in E. Hardy's hand. Annotation and abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

1217 Leslie Stephen, "The Moral Element in Literature," *Cornhill*, XLIII (Jan. 1881), 37–49. Abridged quotation with variations, annotations, and Hardy's underlining.

A mere skeleton outline of the points here noted shows considerable harmony with Hardy's own aesthetics. The main similarities concern Stephen's beliefs that the writer of fiction is the true historian of the time (cf. Orel, p. 117); that the novelist should convey the emotions and thoughts of his contemporaries (cf. Orel, pp. 118, 138, and *Life*, p. 386); that his literary achievement is intimately linked to his perception of life, his moral qualities, and idiosyncracies (cf. Orel, pp. 124–25 and *Life*, p. 255; see also "Critical Introduction," p. xxvii); that "emotional sentiment" is superior to cleverness (cf. Orel, p. 115); and, that literature has an over-all "humanizing" effect on its readers (cf. Orel, pp. 114, 127). For a general note on Stephen, see entry 980n.

Hardy was "at home" with the writers Stephen enumerates; for brief general notes on Carlyle, Newman, Mill, Darwin, Tennyson, see the Index.

Browning belonged to the group of authors Hardy knew best, and he was, for instance, quick to associate particular settings with Browning's *dramatis personae:* Hardy's copy (in the British Museum) of Baedecker's *Central Italy*, p. 148 has the inscription "Thomas Hardy, Florence, March 1887," and against the description of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, the annotation, "Church of Pompilia's marriage vide 'Ring & the Book' (Browning)." There are similar notes in the *Life* (pp. 135, 190). Yet, late in life, Hardy expressed some disappointment with Browning, not from an aesthetic, but from an ideological point of view: Browning had become for him "the last of the optimists" (*Jude*, p. 95). In 1901, Hardy wrote to Mrs. Henniker: "Browning is excellent to fall back upon in hot weather: how slowly and surely he is overtopping Tennyson. And yet Browning has his weaknesses" (*One Rare Fair Woman*, p. 105). A couple of years earlier Hardy seems to have spelled out what the "weaknesses" were: "The longer I live

the more does B's character seem *the* literary puzzle of the 19th century. How could smug Christian optimism worthy of a dissenting grocer find a place inside a man who was so vast a seer & feeler when on neutral ground? " (Hardy to Gosse, March 3, 1899 [British Museum]). Still, when in July 1894 Hardy was given a "Pocket Volume" of *Selections from The Poetical Works of Robert Browning* (London, 1893) by Mrs. Henniker, he re-read most of the poems — whether or not the gift coincided with hot weather. The copy (DCM) has several markings and the title page has the inscription (in Hardy's hand except for the donor's signature): "Thomas Hardy from Florence Henniker July 24th [or 27th] 1894."

As Pinion's list (p. 209) shows, however, Browning is often alluded to in Hardy's works. For critical comments on these allusions and for the general influence of Browning, see Bailey, pp. 159, 215, 256, 404, 410; Blunden, p. 261; Evelyn Hardy, pp. 72, 221, 245; Miller, pp. 41–43; Springer, pp. 57–58; 60; Weber, pp. 232, 236, 242–43; Wright, p. 73.

With Fielding the case is different. Hardy did not often refer to him, but he liked to trace his literary ancestry back to him. Thus, when he found that Samuel C. Chew, in *Thomas Hardy: Poet and Novelist* (Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs, III, 1921), p. 141, had put him in the tradition of the Brontës, G. Eliot, Trollope, and Blackmore, Hardy scribbled in the margin of his copy (DCM: "? Fielding ? Scott." In a typed letter to Chew, he later explained: "Surely, if anybody, Fielding (whose scenes and characters are Dorset and Somerset), and Scott? " (Hardy to Chew, typescript letter, marked "Sent to Professor C. Sept 17, 1922"; [DCM]).

1218 "Exhibition of Pictures by Mr. Millais," *The World*, Feb. 23, 1881, p. 8. Quotation with slight variations.

Hardy became familiar with Ruskin's *Modern Painters* as early as 1862 (*Life*, p. 38), but his first extant notes from the work are found in "Literary Notes II." Hardy's reactions to Ruskin are both positive and negative. He accepts Ruskin's explanation " 'as to the cause of the want of imagination in works of the present age . . . that it is the flippant sarcasm of the time' " (*Life*, p. 172), and he also noted with approval that, " 'Ruskin somewhere says that comedy is tragedy if you only look deep enough' " (*Life*, p. 293), and he found his praise of St. Mark's " 'conventional ecstacy, exaggeration, — shall I say humbug? ' " (*Life*, p. 193).

1219 *Reminiscences by Thomas Carlyle*, ed. J. A. Froude (London, 1881), I, 215. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1220 Moncure D. Conway, "Thomas Carlyle," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, I (May, 1881), 890–91. Quotation with slight variations.

1221 Herbert Spencer, "Political Heads — Chiefs, Kings, Etc.," *Fort. Rev.*, XXIX (May, 1881), 526. Annotation and part summary, part quotation.

1222 *Ibid.*, p. 530. Annotation and quotation with a slight variation.

1223 *Ibid.*, p. 658. Summary.

1224 *Ibid.*, p. 659. Summary.

1225 *Ibid.*, p. 650. Annotation and quotation with variations.

1226 *Ibid.*, p. 66. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

1227 Herbert Spencer, "Political Integration," *Fort. Rev.*, XXIX (Jan. 1, 1881), 13. Abridged quotation with slight variations and annotations.

1228 [R. J. Mann], "Darwin on the movements of plants," *Edin. Rev.* CLIII (April, 1881), 508–10. Part summary, part quotation from a review of Charles Darwin, *The Power of Movement in Plants*.

1229 "Lange's History of Materialism. — Vol. II," *The Spectator*, LIV (July 9, 1881), 900. Annotation and part summary, part quotation; of the underlined words, only "*because*" is italicized in the source.

For a brief but authoritative discussion of Hardy's attitude towards materialism, see Zabel, p. 43, and cf. entry 714n. For a brief note on Idealism, see entry 899n.

1230 Unidentified.

1231 [Leslie Stephen], "Rambles among Books (No. III): The Essayists," *Cornhill*, XLIV (Sept. 1881), 279. Abridged quotation.

1232 H. Z., "Lenau," *Cornhill*, XLIV (Oct. 1881), 461–62. Part summary, part quotation.

Hardy owned Frederick Schiller, *Works of: Early Dramas and Romances* (1873), see Wreden, item 414. See also entry 1133n.

In view of the considerable scholarly attention to Hardy's debt to Schopenhauer, there are surprisingly few direct allusions to the German philosopher in Hardy's writing. There is only one instance in the *Life* (p. 315), and in the "Apology" Hardy lists him among the philosophers "who have my respect" (Orel, p. 58). In *Tess*, old Clare's determinism is described as amounting "on its negative side, to a renunciative philosophy which had cousinship with that of

Schopenhauer and Leopardi" (pp. 202–03). This reference was not in the early versions; it was added for the 1st ed. (II, 55).

The most influential study of Hardy and Schopenhauer is Helen Garwood's *Thomas Hardy: an Illustration of the Philosophy of Schopenhauer* (Philadelphia, 1911). Madeleine I. Norman gives a helpful list of Schopenhauer material available in English during the period 1860–1883 in her "Hardy and Schopenhauer," Toronto Univ. M.A. thesis (1940), pp. 168 ff. The most comprehensive and reliable recent discussion of this complex subject is found in Wright, esp. pp. 39–56.

1233 "Selections from Thackeray," *The Spectator*, LIV (Nov. 26, 1881), 1506. Annotations and quotation with slight variations.

Already in 1863 Hardy warmly recommended *Vanity Fair* to his sister (*Life*, p. 40). Later he was to single out part of the novel as close to aesthetic perfection: "And the first thirty chapters of *Vanity Fair* may be instanced as well-nigh complete in artistic presentation, along with their other magnificent qualities" (Orel, p. 121). See also entry A151.

Carl H. Ketcham in " 'A Vixen Voice': Hardy and Thackeray," *Colby Library Quarterly*, VIII (Sept. 1965) argues that Hardy's poem "Outside the Window" is based on an incident in *Pendennis*.

1234 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with variations.

1235 James Parton, *Life of Voltaire* (London, 1881), I, 22. Part summary, part quotation. For a brief note on Voltaire, see entry 52n.

1236 *Ibid.*, I, 62. Quotation.

1237 *Ibid.*, I, 77. Annotations and abridged quotation with slight variations.

1238 *Ibid.*, I, 86. Quotation with a variation and annotation.

1239 *Ibid.*, I, 207. Annotation, abridged quotation, and Hardy's underlining.

1240 *Ibid.*, I, 146. Abridged quotation.

1241 *Ibid.*, I, 209. Part quotation, part summary.

1242 *Ibid.*, I, 216. Part summary, part quotation.

1243 *Ibid.*, I, 218; 229–30. Part quotation, part summary.

1244 *Ibid.*, I, 233. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

1245 *Ibid.*, I, 234. Abridged quotation with variations.

1246 *Ibid.*, I, 238. Quotation.

1247 *Ibid.*, I, 160. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1248 Hutchins, III, 454. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

Although it is not possible to trace Hardy's parenthetical reference to any specific statement with absolute certainty, the following observation from 1885 seems pertinent:

> 'History is rather a stream than a tree. There is nothing organic in its shape, nothing systematic in its development. It flows on like a thunderstorm-rill by a road side; now a straw turns it this way, now a tiny barrier of sand that. The offhand decision of some commonplace mind in high office at a critical moment influences the course of events for a hundred years. Consider the evenings at Lord Carnavon's, and the intensely average conversation on politics held there by average men who two or three weeks later were members of the Cabinet. A row of shop-keepers in Oxford Street taken just as they came would conduct the affairs of the nation as ably as these.' (*Life*, p. 172)

See also the *Life*, pp. 148, 168, 191. For secondary sources on Hardy and History, see Emma Clifford, "Thomas Hardy and the Historians," *SP*, LVI (Oct. 1959), 654–68, and "The Impressionistic View of History in *The Dynasts*," MLQ, XXII (March 1961), 21–23. See also Wright, *passim*, and R. J. White (completed by James Gibson), *Thomas Hardy and History* (London, 1974).

1249 Parton, I, 290. Quotation with variations.

1250 *Ibid.*, I, 267. Summary and quotation with slight variations.

1251 *Ibid.*, I, 189. Annotation and quotation.

1252 *Ibid.*, I, 373. Annotation and abridged quotation. The second underlining is Hardy's own.

1253 William Garden Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, 3rd ed. (London, 1882), p. 96. Quotation and annotation.

1254 Parton, I, 471. Quotation.

1255 *Ibid.*, I, 471–72. Abridged quotation with variations.

1256 *Ibid.*, I, 472. Abridged quotation with variations.

1257 *Ibid.*, I., 472–73. Quotation with annotation.

1258 *Ibid.*, I, 446. Summary and quotation.

1259 *Ibid.*, I, 472. Quotation.

1260 *Ibid.*, I, 474. Quotation with a slight variation and annotation.

1261 *Ibid.*, I, 487–88. Summary.

1262 *Ibid.*, I, 512, Quotation with slight variations.

1263 *Ibid.*, I, 516. Quotation with Hardy's underlining and annotation.

1264 "The Silence of Democracies," *The Spectator*, LV (April 8, 1882), 458–59. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlinings.

1265 Leader, *The Times*, April 20, 1882, p. 9. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

1266 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation.

1267 J. H. Shorthouse, *John Inglesant: A Romance* (London, 1881), p. 287. Quotation from a section which juxtaposes "Pagan" tolerance of life in all its manifestations and "Christan warfare" for a "perfeet world" (pp. 284–86): "The study of life is indeed equally possible to both schools; but the pleased acquiescenee in life as it is, with all its follies and fantastic pleasures, is surely incompatible with the footsteps of the Divine Aseetic who trod the wine-press of the wrath of God" (p. 286). Hardy then quotes from the protagonist's exposition of the "Pagan" point of view:

> How useless and even pitiful is the continued complaint of moralists and divines, to whom none lend an ear, whilst they endeavour, age after age, to cheek youth and pleasure, and turn the eurrent of life and nature backward on its eourse. For how many ages in this old Rome . . . has this frail humanity for a few hours sunned itself on warm afternoons in sheltered walks and streets, and eomforted itself into life and pleasure, amid all its cares and toils and sins.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Within such a little space how much life is crowded, what high

> hopes, how much pain. From those high windows behind the flower-pots young girls have looked out upon life. . . . How can we read this endless story of humanity with any thought of blame? How can we watch this restless quivering human life . . . with any other thought than that of tolerance and pity . . . (pp. 286–87).

For Hardy's sympathies for the "Pagan" view of life, see "Critical Introduction," p. xxv.

John Inglesant became very popular and went through 10 eds. within two years.

1268 *Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat* (see entry 1184n), I, 13. Quotation with a slight variation.

1269 T. H. Huxley, "The Coming of Age of 'The Origin of Species,' " *Science and Culture and Other Essays* (London, 1881), p. 312. Quotation with a slight variation and Hardy's underlining.

Hardy met Huxley on a few occasions and recorded a very positive view of him both as man and thinker: "For Huxley Hardy had a liking which grew with knowledge of him — though that was never great — speaking of him as a man who united a fearless mind with the warmest of hearts and the most modest of manners" (*Life*, p. 122). Hardy seems to have appreciated particularly Huxley's contributions to the contemporary discussion of religion. Having read E. Clodd's *Huxley* (1902), Hardy wrote to Clodd: "What is forced upon one again after reading such a life as Huxley's, is the sad fact of the extent to which Theological lumber is still allowed to discredit religion, in spite of such devoted attempts as his to shake it off" (Hardy to Clodd, Feb. 27, 1902 [British Museum]; rpt. *Ashley Library*, X, 126.) And, the one direct reference to Huxley in Hardy's creative writing serves to emphasize the fictional character's freedom from "theological lumber": when Tess, having absorbed Angel Clare's teaching, tries to explain her religious beliefs to Alec, her arguments "might possibly have been paralleled in many a work of the pedigree ranging from the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* to Huxley's *Essays*" (*Tess*, p. 410). The allusion to Huxley was not introduced until the 1st ed. (III, 120).

1270 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with slight variations.

1271 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with slight variations.

1272 Frederic Harrison, "A Few Words about the Nineteenth Century," *Fort. Rev.*, XXXVII (April 1, 1882), 415, 425, 421. Annotation and abridged quotations with slight variations. As the page references indicate, the sections are not copied in chronological order.

1273 "The Magazines," *The Spectator*, LV (May 6, 1882), 602. Quotation with a slight variation and annotation.

1274 "Ralph Waldo Emerson," *The Spectator*, LV (May, 6, 1882), 591. Abridged quotation with variations from an obituary on Emerson. The article compares Emerson and Carlyle, and Hardy quotes from the assessment of the two as "transcendental" thinkers.

1275 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation.

1276 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with slight variations.

1277 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with a slight variation.

1278 "M. Pasteur and M. Renan on Religious Belief," *The Spectator*, LV (May 6, 1882), 592. Quotation with variations.

Hardy owned Renan's *Saint Paul* (1880), *The History of the Origins of Christianity* (Book 2: the Apostles; N.D.), and *The Life of Jesus* (1927): see Wreden, items 129, 402, 403.

1279 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation and parenthetical annotation.

1280 "Mr. Justice Fry on Materialism," *The Spectator*, LV (May 20, 1882), 655. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

The scientific idea is used lightheartedly in "The First Countess of Wessex": "In a few years her [Betty Dornell's] very flesh would change — so said the scientific; — her spirit, so much more ephemeral, was capable of changing in one" (*A Group of Noble Dames*, p. 43).

1281 *Loc. cit.* Annotation and quotation with variations and reversed word-order. Cf. also entries 899, 1229.

1282 *Loc. cit.* Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1283 Unidentified.

In the *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 19—20 (Winter, 1958), 102, there is a reprint of a caricature of Charles Reade from *The Entr' Acte*, Oct. 7, 1882; the caption reads: "Mr. Charles Reade, Multum-Parvo-Champion, An Author of Few Words, But Many Grievances." This may seem a lead for Hardy's annotation, but is irrelevant to the entry proper, by which one is reminded of Hardy's celebrated description of the field of Waterloo before the battle in *The Dynasts* (VI:viii). Cf. also *Life*, p. 110, 284, and *One Rare Fair Woman*, p. 55.

1284 "*English Men of Letters.* — Gray. By Edmund W. Gosse. (Macmillan & Co.)," *The Athenaeum* (July 29, 1882), 140. Annotation and abridged quotation with slight variations.

Hardy expressed his appreciation of the book in a letter to Gosse: ". . . although I do not often see you now in person I take care not to lose sight of your writings, especially when they take such a delightful shape as the book about Gray, which afforded me food for thought during several days" (Hardy to Gosse, Dec. 4, 1882 [British Museum]).

To Pinion's list (p. 203) of allusions to Gray may be added the *Life* (pp. 303, 361, 386), and the prefatory notes to *Select Poems of William Barnes* and *The English Poets* (Orel, pp. 77, 79, 84). There are several exce from Gray's poetry in the "1867" Notebook. For the potentially important influence from Gray on Hardy's literary technique, see Lucille Herbert's excellent "Hardy's Views in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*," *ELH*, 37 (March 1970), 77–94.

1285 *Ibid.*, p. 139. Annotation and abridged quotation with slight variations.

1286 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

1287 "American Society and its Critics," *The Spectator* LV (Aug. 5, 1882), 1018. Annotation and part summary, part quotation.

1288 The quotation, with slight variations, may be from the book itself, A. C. Swinburne, *Tristram of Lyonesse, and other Poems* (London, 1882) or from a review of it, which quoted the passage, in *The Spectator*, LV (Aug. 12, 1882), 1055.

Swinburne is one of Hardy's earliest and strongest literary infatuations. There are numerous entries from him in the "Studies, Specimens, &c" Notebook and the "1867" Notebook, and Hardy's admiration does not decrease with time; in fact, the many references in the *Life* and elsewhere suggest that it barely stays this side idolatry. For instance, Hardy repeatedly associates his own geographical locations and activities with Swinburne: he works above the Reform League, with which Swinburne has corresponded (*Life*, p. 37); he eats, as Swinburne will do, in Newton House (p. 42); and, when he stays at Westbourne Park Villas, this is partly notable because he is "living within half a mile of Swinburne" (p. 49). Also away from London, in Weymouth, Hardy muses on the fact that he is "— like Swinburne — a swimmer" (p. 64).

The same strong attachment is found on the ideological level. In the largely autobiographical *Jude*, a number of basic notions are backed up by salient quotations from the "Prelude" to *Songs Before Sunrise* and "Hymn to Proserpine" (*Jude*, pp. 88, 111, 180). When the novel is violently attacked, Hardy sees himself re-enacting Swinburne's role: "The onslaught upon *Jude* started by

the vituperative section of the press — unequalled in violence since the publication of Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* thirty years before . . ." (*Life*, p. 270). Several years later Hardy pays a visit to Swinburne, and the *Life* reports, with some satisfaction it seems, Swinburne's acknowledgement of their ties and shared abuse: " 'He [Swinburne] spoke with amusement of a paragraph he had seen in a Scottish paper: "Swinburne planteth, Hardy watereth, and Satan giveth the increase." . . . We laughed and condoled each other on having been the two most abused of living writers; he for *Poems and Ballads*, I for *Jude the Obscure*'" (*Life*, p. 325).

For a list of Swinburne allusions, see Pinion, p. 208, and for critical comments, Bailey, pp. 189, 269, 282–84; Evelyn Hardy, esp. pp. 70 ff; Wright, pp. 9, 22–24, 79.

1289 *"English Men of Letters.* — Sterne. By H. D. Traill (Macmillan & Co)," *The Athenaeum* (Nov. 18, 1882), 656. Quotation with slight variations.

The one direct allusion to Novalis in Hardy is not primarily of a pessimistic nature: "Character is Fate, said Novalis" (*The Mayor of Casterbridge*, p. 131). In fact, it is often taken as an affirmation on Hardy's part that man is not a mere plaything of the gods. While this impression may be true enough as far as the fate of Henchard is concerned, it does not seem equally valid for the rest of Hardy's *dramatis personae*. Of the numerous explicit authorial statements emphasizing the role of chance — and minimizing the importance of character — see, for instance: *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, pp. 74, 146, 430; *Far from the Madding Crowd*, pp. 16, 201, 232–33; *The Hand of Ethelberta*, pp. 97, 133; *The Return of the Native*, pp. 243, 292, 311, 421–22; *Two on A Tower*, pp. 74, 103, 213; *Jude the Obscure*, pp. 413–14. In *The Dynasts* sceptical overtones are added to the very words of Novalis: "if character indeed be fate" (VI:vi). It has, of course, been persuasively argued that chance in Hardy's works is not a mere literary crutch but a deliberate and aesthetically functional element; see especially Roy Morrell, *The Will and the Way* (Kuala Lumpur, 1965) and Bert G. Hornback, *The Metaphor of Chance: Vision and Technique in the Works of Thomas Hardy* (Athens, Ohio, 1971).

Cf. also entries 617, 872, 1065, and 1308n.

1290 *Ibid.*, p. 657. Quotation with slight variations.

1291 *Loc. cit.* Quotation.

1292 *Ibid.*, p. 658. Quotation with a slight variation.

Cf. entries 730n, 750n.

1293 Richard A. Proctor, "The Photographic Eyes of Science," *Longman's Magazine* I (Feb. 1883), 454–55. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

1294 Emile de Laveleye, "The European Terror," *Fort. Rev.*, XXXIII (April 1, 1883), 549. Possibly in E. Hardy's hand. Quotation with slight variations.

The title refers to certain outbursts of violence and terrorism by members of Socialistic movements in various countries.

Emile de Laveleye is alluded to in "The Dorsetshire Labourer," (Orel, p. 184).

1295 *Ibid.*, p. 550. Summary and annotation.

1296 Ibid., pp. 548–53. All but the first few lines are in E. Hardy's hand. Abridged quotation with variations.

For brief discussions of Hardy's sociological interests, see entries 1n and 618n.

Benjamin Colins (1816–72), French socialist.

1297 [Peter Bayne], "Shakespeare and George Eliot," *Blackwood's*, CXXXIII (April 1883), 530. Annotation and quotation with a variation. Hardy's "bosh" is the strongest comment of disapproval on any entry.

Somewhat to Hardy's chagrin, it seems, the anonymously published *Far from the Madding Crowd* was attributed to George Eliot by *The Spectator*. "Why," Hardy complained, he "could never understand, since, so far as he had read that great thinker — one of the greatest living, he thought, though not a born storyteller by any means — she had never touched the life of the fields: her country-people having seemed to him, too, more like small townsfolk than rustics; and as evidencing a woman's wit cast in country dialogue rather than real country humour, which he regarded as rather of the Shakespeare and Fielding sort" (*Life*, p. 98). Samuel C. Chew's *Thomas Hardy: Poet and Novelist* (see entry 1217n) called forth similar objections. Chew had suggested influences from both George Eliot and Blackmore's *Lorna Doone*, and Hardy wrote to Chew: "It was Shakespeare's delineation of his Warwickshire clowns (who much resemble the Wessex peasantry) that influenced Hardy most. He found no clowns i.e. farmlabourers or rustics, anywhere in G. Eliot's books, and considered her country characters more like small townspeople than peasantry. And he had never read "Lorna Doone." Nobody "guided him into Wessex." He had always been there" (typescript letter marked "Sent to Professor C. Sept 17, 1922" [DCM]). For excerpts from *Adam Bede*, see entries A16–17.

Thus, while indicating appreciation of G. Eliot on ideological grounds — he specifically refers to her Positivism (*Life*, p. 98) — Hardy was not willing to acknowledge any aesthetic influence.

For comparative studies of the two authors, see: Lina W. Berle, *George Eliot and Thomas Hardy: A Contrast* (New York, 1917); Nell D. Drake, "The Problem

of Suffering: A Comparison of its Treatment in Hardy and Eliot," Diss. Vanderbilt Univ. 1928; Arlene M. Jackson, "Ideas and Realities in Victorian England. A Study of the Idealistic Quest Theme in the Novels of George Eliot and Thomas Hardy," Diss. Univ. of Mich. 1968; W. E. Yuill, " 'Character is Fate': A Note on Thomas Hardy, George Eliot, and Novalis," *MLR*, LVII (July 1962), 401–02.

1298 *Ibid.*, p. 533. Quotation with a variation.

1299 *Ibid.*, p. 532. Quotation. Hardy quotes an argument with which the article disagrees.

1300 *Ibid.*, p. 533. Annotation and abridged quotation with a slight variation.

1301 "Mr Footman on Modern Unbelief," *The Spectator*, LVI (April 21, 1883), 514–15. Annotation on, and abridged quotation with variations from, a favourable review of Henry Footman, *Reasonable Apprehensions and Reassuring Hints: being Papers designed to attract Attention to the Nature of Modern Unbelief, and to meet Some of its Fundamental Assumptions* (London, 1883).

The review praises the book as "the most courageous, and the steadiest effort to look modern unbelief in the face which we have yet had from a clergyman of the Church of England." Hardy, however, quotes only from Footman's exposition of the modern arguments *against* divine design in Nature.

Hardy has often been accused of confusion and contradictions in his attitude towards Nature in his writing. On the one hand, the criticism goes, he denounces Nature's cruelty: Jude finds her "logic . . . too horrid for him to care for"; Sue condemns "Nature's law" as "mutual butchery" (*Jude*, pp. 15, 371); on the other, he asserts Nature's neutrality: "human beings are of no matter or appreciable value in this nonchalant universe"; " 'Nature's indifference to the advance of her species' " (*Life*, pp. 378, 405). Yet, these attitudes are not incompatible; that Nature is cruel *per se* — from a strictly human point of view — does not exclude the attribute of indifference. It is only, of course, if Nature is endowed with conscious malignity that a contradiction will arise, and Hardy did not, he often asserted, see any such intentional evil in Nature. Neither is it contradictory, if the above reasoning be accepted, to posit Nature as an ethical norm — if what she is juxtaposed to is worse than herself in a specific situation. This, it seems, is the case in Hardy's analysis of Tess's feelings of guilt for her illegitimate child as she imagines she is condemned by Nature: "Feeling herself in antagonism she was quite in accord. She had been made to break an accepted social law, but no law known to the environment in which she fancied herself such an anomaly" (*Tess*, p. 108). In this particular instance, that is, the evil of Nature is surpassed by that of Society.

See also entry 1232. The problem will be discussed at greater length in my forthcoming *Psychological Vision and Social Criticism in the Novels of Thomas Hardy.*

1302 Arthur Tilley, "The New School of Fiction," *The National Review*, I (April 1883), 265. Part summary, part quotation.

See "Critical Introduction," p. xxii, n 17, and entry 1321.

1303 Unidentified.

Cf. Hardy's note for Aug. 1883: " 'Write a list of things which everybody thinks and nobody says; and a list of things that everybody says and nobody thinks' " (*Life*, p. 162).

1304 "Cecil Lawson," *The Times*, May 3, 1883, p. 7. Annotation on, and quotation with variations from, a review of E. W. Gosse, *Cecil Lawson: A Memoir* (London, 1883).

See "Critical Introduction," p. xxii.

1305 Henry Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (London, 1883), pp. 68–69. The passage is, however, also quoted in a review of the book: "Scientific Laws and Christianity," *The Spectator*, LVI (Aug. 4, 1883), 997–98. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

In a letter on Bergson's *élan vital*, Hardy briefly touches on the subject of the entry, but he takes a different point of view: " 'He [Bergson] speaks of "the enormous gap that separates even the lowest form of life from the inorganic world." Here again it is more probable that organic and inorganic modulate into each other, one nature and law operating throughout' " (*Life*, p. 451).

An 1898 ed. of Drummond's book was in the Max Gate library, but it had Mrs. Hardy's signature on the flyleaf (Wreden, item 159).

1306 F. D. Bridges, *Journal of a Lady's Travels round the World* (London, 1883), p. 29. The passages in entries 1306–07 are also quoted in a review of the book: "A Lady's Travels Round the World," *The Spectator*, LVI (Aug. 4, 1883), 1000–02. Annotation and part summary, part quotation.

1307 *Ibid.*, p. 130. See note for previous entry. Annotation and part quotation, part summary.

1308 "Dr. Maudsley on Free-Will," *The Spectator*, LVI (Aug. 4, 1883), 996. Annotation on, and quotation with slight variations from, a letter to the editor, occasioned by a review, "Dr. Maudsley on Body and Will," *The Spectator*, LVI (July 28, 1883), 964–65, of Henry Maudsley, *Body and Will, being an Essay*

concerning Will in its Metaphysical, Physiological, and Pathological Aspects (London, 1883).

For Hardy's mature view of Free Will, see his discussions of *The Dynasts* in the *Life*, pp. 334, 368, 449. Cf. also entry 1289n.

1309 This is possible Hardy's own comment on the biography quoted from in entries 1312–15.

1310 Unidentified.

1311 "Mr. Galton's Inquiries into Human Faculty, and its Development," *The Spectator*, LVI (Aug. 11, 1883), 1030. Quotation with slight variations from a review of Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Development* (London, 1883).

1312 R. G. Wilberforce, *Life of Samuel Wilberforce* (London, 1882), III, 161. Quotation. See entry 1309n.

Samuel Wilberforce (1805–73), bishop of Oxford.

1313 *Ibid.*, III, 332. Abridged quotation.

1314 *Ibid.*, III, 340. Annotation and quotation with slight variations.

1315 *Ibid.*, III, 352. Comment and part quotation, part summary.

1316 Auberon Herbert, "A Politician in Trouble about His Soul." (part IV) *Fort. Rev.*, XXXIII (March 1, 1883), 358–75. Abridged quotation with variations.

See *Life*, p. 182.

1317 "The Filling-up of the World," *The Spectator*, LVI (Sept. 22, 1883), 1211. Part summary, part quotation.

1318 Charles C. F. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs* (Second Part): *A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, ed. H. Reeve (London, 1885), II, 325; Strachey & Fulford, V, 259. Part summary, part quotation. This may possibly not be the source, since the second part of the *Memoirs* was not published until 1885, and the surrounding entries are all from 1883. It is difficult, however, to ignore Hardy's own identification, and as the entry is at the bottom of a page it may well have been inserted later than the neighbouring material.

1319 Vernon Lee, "The Outdoor Poetry of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," *Cont. Rev.*, XLV (Jan. 1884), 31. Annotation and abridged quotation with variations.

1320 *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35. Annotation and abridged quotation with variations.

1321 F. Brunetière, "Le Personnage Sympathique dans la littérature," *Revue des deux mondes*, LIII (Oct. 1882), 939–40. Quotation with slight variations. Hardy's comment, in pencil, is written in the margin.

Hardy does not seem to make any distinction between "naturalism" and "realism" in literature. In "The Science of Fiction," for instance, the "most devoted apostle of realism" and "the sheerest naturalist" appear to be synonymous concepts, equally applicable to Zola, who, however, also is a "romancer" (Orel pp. 134, 135; see also *Life*, p. 329; for Hardy's "realism," see "Critical Introduction, pp. xxii ff.). For a study of the similarities between Hardy and the French naturalists in general, and Zola in particular, see William Newton, "Hardy and the Naturalists: Their Use of Physiology," *MP*, XLIX (Aug. 1952), 28–42.

In 1895 Hardy writes that he is "read in Zola very little" (*Life*, p. 273), but the "1867" Notebook has a number of extracts from *Germinal* (1885) and *Abbé Mouret's Transgressions* (1886). As he also owned (see Wreden, items 465–67, 137) Zola's *The Downfall* (1896), *The Dream* (1893), *Rome* (1896), and *His Masterpiece* (1886), Hardy's appreciation of the French writer may well have been more pronounced than he cared to confide to Mrs. Henniker's Shelleyan sensibility: "You mistake in supposing I admire Zola. It is just what I don't do. I think him no artist, and too material. I feel that the animal side of human nature should never be dwelt on except as a contrast or foil to its spiritual side" (*One Rare Fair Woman*, p. 63). Cf. entry A196 and n.

1322 Matthew Arnold, "Numbers; or the Majority and the Remnant," *The Nineteenth Century*, XV (April, 1894), 671. Quotation.

Cf. also entries 542 and 903.

1323 *Ibid.*, p. 670. Quotation.

1324 *Ibid.*, p. 674. Abridged quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

1325 *Ibid.*, p. 679. Quotation.

1326 *Ibid.*, p. 672. Quotation with slight variations.

1327 J. Seymour Keay, "The Spoliation of India," *The Nineteenth Century*, XV (April 1884), 564. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

In an earlier article Keay had asserted that the "great bulk" of the Indian Empire had been acquired "not by conquest, but by breach of trust with the native Powers" (p. 562). For this he had been much abused and the effect of his statement had been contrary to his expectations: ". . . groundless privileges are now claimed by Europeans in India . . . as 'a conquering race' by virtue of the supposed conquest" (p. 563). Having given a few examples of statements by judges in India in support of such privileges, Keay maintains that "even if the fact of conquest were well established, modern political science knows nothing whatever of the claims of 'a conquering race' " (p. 563). In opposition to the doctrine embraced by Indian officials, Keay then offers "a very different doctrine" – which Hardy quotes.

1328 Herbert Spencer, "The Coming Slavery," *Cont. Rev.*, XLV (April 1884), 461. Quotation with variations. See also entry 1294.

1329 *Ibid.*, pp. 474–75. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

1330 George C. Brodrick, "Democracy and Socialism," *The Nineteenth Century*, XV (April 1884), 634–35. Abridged quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

Brodrick warns against the dangers of Socialism, especially its project of "confiscating the entire soil of the country without compensation." Hardy notes the article's continued argument against this scheme.

1331 "Lord Ampthill," *The Spectator*, LVII (Aug. 30, 1884), 1129. Annotation on, and quotation with slight variations from, an obituary on Lord Ampthill, British Ambassador to Germany.

1332–33 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotations with slight variations.

1334 Unidentified.

1335 Herbert Spencer, "Last Words about Agnosticism and the Religion of Humanity," *The Nineteenth Century*, XVI (Nov. 1884), 835. Annotations and quotation with slight variations.

This article was part of Spencer's attack on the Positivists, see J. E. McGee, *A Crusade for Humanity: The History of Organized Positivism in England* (London, 1931), pp. 98–100.

1336 *Ibid.*, pp. 828–29. Annotations and part summary, part quotation.

The phenomena here noted are offered by Spencer in support of his idea that the ghost-theory is prior to fetichism as a primitive religious belief.

Hinrich Rink (1819–93), Danish geologist.

1337 James Anthony Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of his Life in England 1834–1881* (London, 1884), I, 87–92. Annotation and abridged quotation with variations. Hardy owned a first ed. of Froude's biography in 4 vols. (London 1882–84); Hodgson, item 43.

For a general note on Carlyle, see entry 94n.

What Hardy notes about the "spectral" nature of Carlyle's History seems relevant to an idea he writes down in 1886 and later carries out in *The Dynasts:* " 'The human race to be shown as one great network or tissue which quivers in every part when one point is shaken, like a spider's web if touched. Abstract realisms to be in the form of Spirits, Spectral figures, etc.' " (*Life*, p. 177).

1338 *Ibid.*, p. 99, Summary.

1339 *Ibid.*, p. 179. Annotation and quotation with a slight variation.

APPENDIX

NOTES ON

THE "1867" NOTEBOOK

1 A. C. Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calvdon*, A New Ed. (London, 1885), p. 43. Abridged quotation with a slight variation. Hardy's own copy of this edition in the DCM is signed "Thomas Hardy" on the title page and has several markings, but not of the passage here quoted. The edition Hardy used for this entry is unidentifiable.

For a general note on Swinburne, see entry 1288n.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 44. Abridged quotation with slight variations. The lines are marked with a marginal stroke in Hardy's copy.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 47. Quotation; underlined in Hardy's copy.

4 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with a slight variation.

5 W. Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV, i, 100. Quotation.

For a brief general note on Shakespeare, see entry 367n.

6 P. Corneille, *Le Cid*, I, i, 36. The edition Hardy used is unidentified. The entry may be Hardy's own translation of: "Ses rides sur son front ont gravé ses exploits."

7 A. de Musset, "Les Vœux Stériles," *Premières Poesies 1829 à 1835* (Paris, 1881), p. 185. Probably Hardy's own translation of the passage, which is unmarked in his copy of the edition (DCM). See also entry 1028n.

8 Herbert Spencer, *First Principles*, vol. I of *A System of Synthetic Philosophy* (London, 1880), p. 529. The edition Hardy used is unidentified. Quotation, with annotation, from Part Two, "The Knowable," ch. XXIII, "Dissolution": "Is that motionless state called death, which ends Evolution in organic bodies, typical of the universal death in which Evolution at large must end? And have we thus to contemplate as the outcome of things, a boundless space holding here and there extinct suns, fated to remain for ever without further change? "

For a general note on Spencer, see entry 882n.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 507. Quoted from Part Two, ch. XXII: "Equilibration." The excerpt is from the final lines of § 174, in which Spencer argues that the equilibrations of the "mental life" can be classified in the same way as those distinguished as "bodily life." The conclusion reads: "And thus the ultimate state, forming the limit toward which Evolution carries us, is one in which the kinds and quantities of mental energy daily generated and transformed into motions, are equivalent to, or in equilibrium with, the various orders and degrees of surrounding forces which antagonize such motions."

10 The term "the Unknowable" appears in many places in *First Principles*. It is, first of all, the title of Part One. See also, however, pp. 113, 120, 122, 143, 154, 156, 157, 161, 165, 167, 397, 551.

11 W. Shakespeare, *King John*, V, vii, 3. Quotation.

12 W. Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, II, iii, 35. Quotation and annotation.

13 T. Carlyle, "The Opera," *Works*, XI, 237. Quotation.
For a general note on Carlyle, see entry 94n.

14 T. Carlyle, "Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago," *Works*, XI, 213.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 217. Abridged quotation.

16 G. Eliot, *Adam Bede*, Everyman's Library (London, 1966; rpt. 1951), p. 468. The edition Hardy used is unidentified. Abridged quotation. For a brief general note on G. Eliot, see entry 1297n.

17 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation.

18 T. Carlyle, "Diamond Necklace," *Works*, X, 16. Quotation with variations and annotation.

19 A. Trollope, *Orley Farm* (London, 1862), I, 40. The edition Hardy used is unidentified. Quotation.

20 T. Carlyle, "Diamond Necklace," *Works*, X, 17–18. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

The parenthetical annotation seems to suggest that Hardy saw a similarity between Carlyle's apostrophe to Boehmer and the apostrophe of Moses to the Israelites in Deuteronomy, 1.

21 V. Hugo, "*Ninety-Three*," trans. F. L. Benedict and J. H. Friswell, 3 vols. (London, 1874), I, 240. Quotation. This translation was published in a New Ed. in 1886, and Hardy could have used either for this entry. In the next English translation of the novel, however, by G. Campbell in 1887, the sentence reads: "These little children had a great future before them" (p. 97). The brace for entries A21–24 points to their relationship, which Hardy explains in entry A24. Hardy owned a copy of "*Ninety-Three*," n.d. (188–), see Wreden, item 338.

For a brief general note on Hugo, see entry 1133n.

22 P. B. Shelley, "The Woodman and the Nightingale," ll. 58–60. Hardy's edition is unidentified. Abridged quotation and annotation.

23 The source of Hardy's reminiscence is unidentified.

24 Hardy's comment, in pencil, on the three preceding entries.

25 Unidentified.

26 T. Carlyle, *History of Frederick the Great, Works*, XXI, 8. Abridged quotation with a slight variation. Pencil.

27 *Op. cit., Works*, XXI, 11. Abridged quotation with variations. Pencil.

28 *Op. cit., Works*, XXI, 20. Abridged quotation with variations. Pencil.

29 Probably a mere misspelling of the name Cagliostro. Carlyle wrote an essay on Allessandro Cagliostro (1743–95), the Sicilian adventurer, who was involved in the "Diamond Necklace" affair, also the subject of a Carlyle essay (see entries A18, A20). Pencil.

30 The first part, "faded bowers" is quoted from Thomas Hood, "The Departure of Summer," 1. 4. The exact source of the rest of the entry is not identified, unless Hardy rearranged the adjectives in the following passages from "The Haunted House":

> Their souls were looking thro' their painted eyes
> With awful speculation (part III, x)
>
> The sky was pale; the cloud a thing of doubt (part III, xvii)

31–33 V. Hugo, "Dieu Invisible au Philosophie," 1. 9 in "D'Eve à Jesus," *La Légende des siècles*, First Series (Paris, 1859). The exact edition Hardy used is unidentified, but the tentative and alternative translations of words (see entries A34, A36) suggest that the entries are Hardy's own renderings of the original French:

> Le philosophe allait sur son âne; prophète,
> Prunelle devant l'ombre horrible stupéfaite,
> Il allait, il pensait.
>
> Devin des nations,
> Il vendait aux païens des malédictions,
> Sans savoir si des mains dans les ténèbres blêmes
> S'ouvraient pour recevoir ses vagues anathèmes.
> Il venait de Phétor; il allait chez Balac,
> Fils des Gomorrhéens qui dorment sous le lac,
> Mage d'Assur et roi du peuple moabite.
> Il avait quitté l'ombre où l'épouvante habite,

Et le hideux abri des chênes chevelus
Que l'ouragan secoue en ses larges reflux.
Morne, il laissait marcher au hasard sa monture,
Son esprit cheminant dans une autre aventure;
Il se demandait: "Tout est-il vide? et le fond
N'est-il que de l'abîme où des spectres s'en vont?
L'ombre prodigieuse est-elle une personne?
Le flot qui murmure, est-ce une voix qui raisonne?
Depuis quatre-vingts ans, je vis dans un réduit,
Regardant la sueur des antres de la nuit,
Écoutant les sanglots de l'air dans les nuées.
Le gouffre est il vivant? Larves exténuées,
Qu'est-ce que nous cherchons? Je sais l'assyrien,
L'arabe, le persan, l'hébreu; je ne sais rien.
De quel profond néant sommes-nous les ministres? . . ."
Ainsi, pâle, il songeait sous les branches sinistres,
Les cheveux hérissés par les souffles des bois,
L'âne s'arrêta court et lui dit: "Je le vois."

34 V. Hugo, "La Trompette du Jugement," 11.16–17 in "Hors du Temps," *La Légende des siècles.* Translated from:

Oh! quelle nuit! là, rien n'a de contour ni d'age;
Et le nuage est spectre, et le spectre est nuage.

35 *Ibid.*, 11. 30–32. Translated from:

Et l'immobilité de tous les cimetières,
Et le sommeil de tous les tombeaux, et la paix
De tous les morts couchés dans la fosse . . .

36–41 *Ibid.*, 11. 37, 42, 45, 48–49, 55–56, and 58 respectively. Translated from:

Ce silence tenait en suspens l'anathème.
On comprenait que tant que ce clairon suprême
Se tairait, le sépulcre, obscur, roidi, béant,
Garderait l'attitude horrible du néant,
Que la momie aurait toujours sa bandelette,
Que l'homme irait tombant du cadavre au squelette,
Et que ce fier banquet radieux, ce festin
Que les vivants gloutons appellent le destin,
Toute la joie errante en tourbillons de fêtes,
Toutes le passions de la chair satisfaites,
Gloire, orgueil, les héros ivres, le tyrans soûls,
Continueraient d'avoir pour but et pour dessous
La pourriture, orgie offerte aux vers convives;
Mais qu'à l'heure où soudain, dans l'espace sans rives,
Cette trompette vaste et sombre sonnerait,
On verrait, comme un tas d'oiseaux d'une forêt,

Toutes les âmes, cygne, aigle, éperviers, colombes,
Frémissantes, sortir du tremblement des tombes,
Et tous les spectres faire un bruit de grandes eaux,
Et se dresser, et prendre à la hâte leurs os,
Tandis qu'au fond, au fond du gouffre, au fond du rêve,
Blanchissant l'absolu, comme un jour qui se lève,
Le front mystérieux du juge apparaîtrait!

42 T. Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, *Works*, II, 165. The phrase also occurs on pp. 200, 208. Quotation with a slight variation.

43 *Loc. cit.* Extracted from a description of a gala at Versailles: the Hall of *Menus* "has loftly galleries; wherefrom dames of honour, splendant in *gaze d'or*; foreign Diplomacies, and other gilt-edged white-frilled individuals . . . may sit and look."

44 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with slight variations.

45 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 195. Abridged quotation.

46 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 196. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

47 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 2. Quotation with variations and Hardy's pencilled underlinings.

48 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 5. Quotation with slight variations.

49 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with slight variations.

50 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation.

51 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 8. Abridged quotation with variations.

52 A. Tennyson, "Palace of Art," 1. 79. Quotation.
For a brief general note on Tennyson, see entry 350n.

53 *Ibid.*, 1. 83. Quotation.

54 S. Johnson, "The Vanity of Human Wishes," 11. 2–3. The edition Hardy used is not identified. Quotation.

55 *Ibid.*, 1. 51. Quotation.

56 *Ibid.*, 11. 53–54. Abridged quotation.

57 *Ibid.*, 11. 197, 265. Quotations.

58–59 *Ibid.*, 11. 206, 207. Quotations.

60 W. Wordsworth, "Milton! thou shouldst be living . . ."; 1. 11. The edition Hardy used is unidentified. Quotation.

61 Unidentified. It is not from Wordsworth.

62 T. Gray: "Sceptred Care" is from "The Bard," 1. 141; "Rosy Pleasure" from "Vicissitude," 1. 37. Hardy's edition is unidentified. Quotations. For a brief general note on Gray, see entry 1284n.

63 T. Gray, "Vicissitude," 1. 31. Quotation.

64 T. Gray, "Ode on the Spring," 1. 21. Quotation.

65 *Ibid.*, 1. 31. Quotation.

66 T. Gray, "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College," 11. 63, 68. Quotations.

In her fine "Hardy's Views in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*," *ELH*, 37 (March 1970), Lucille Herbert discusses the theme of "local attachment" versus "cosmopolitan enlightenment" in *Tess*, and while emphasizing Hardy's debt to "the descriptive-meditative poetry of the eighteenth century" in general, she refers specifically to this ode.

67–68 *Ibid.*, 11. 79, 81–84. Quotations.

69 T. Gray: "Folly's idle brood" from "Hymn to Adversity," 1. 18; "grinning Infamy" from "Ode . . . Eton College," 1. 74. Quotations.

70 T. Gray, "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," 11. 31, 44. Abridged quotation.

71 *Ibid.*, 11. 64–65. Quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlinings.

72 P. B. Shelley, "Ode to the West Wind," 1. 5. Hardy's edition is unidentified. Quotation and annotation.

73 J. Keats, "Ode to a Nightingale," 11. 13–14. Hardy's edition is unidentified. Abridged quotation.

For a brief general note on Keats, see entry 416n.

74 *Ibid.*, 1. 38. Quotation.

75 Bjornstjerne Bjørnson, "Thrond," *The Bridal March and Other Stories*, trans. Rasmus B. Anderson (London, 1884), p. 122. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's pencilled underlining. None of the passages quoted here is marked in Hardy's own copy (DCM), which is signed "Thomas Hardy" on the front fly-leaf.

There is no recorded statement of Hardy's impression of Bjørnson. It is likely, however, that he should have been attracted by the Norwegian's rural themes and settings, and in the DCM there is also a copy, signed by Hardy, of *Synnøve Solbakken*, trans. R. B. Anderson (London, 1884). In addition, Hardy once owned *A Happy Boy* (London, 1884) and *The Heritage of the Kurts* (London, 1892): Wreden, items 9–10.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 124. Quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlining.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 120. Quotation with variations and Hardy's pencilled underlining.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 124. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's pencilled underlining.

79 C. A. Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calydon* (London, 1885), pp. 48 (first three lines) and 44 (final line). Abridged quotations with Hardy's underlinings. The first and last lines are marked in Hardy's copy (DCM). See also entries A1–4.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 44. Quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlining. Marked with two strokes in the margin in Hardy's copy.

81 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlining.

82 A. C. Swinburne, "At Eleusis," 11. 43–44 in *Poems and Ballads,* First Series, 5th ed. (London, 1873), p. 240. Quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlinings. Hardy's copy of this edition is now in the DCM and has his signature on the half-title. In the DCM are also his copies of *Poems and Ballads*, Second Series (London, 1887) and *Songs Before Sunrise* (London, 1888); the title pages of both books are signed by Hardy. There are several markings in all the volumes.

83 W. Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, I, ii, 26. Quotation.

84 T. Carlyle, "Death of Edward Irwing," *Works*, IX, 394–95. Quotation with variations and reversed sentence order. See also entry 406n.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 394. Abridged quotation.

86 T. Gray, "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College," l. 39. Quotation. The expression "fearful joy" occurs in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, p. 181, and *The Return of the Native*, p. 166.

87 J. Keats, "La Belle Dame sans Merci," stanzas X–XI. Abridged quotation with variations.

88a "Angry ghost" is extracted from either "Anchises' angry ghost in dreams appears" or "Her angry ghost, arising from the deep," ll. 506 and 558 respectively of *Aeneis*, IV in *The Works of Virgil*, trans. John Dryden (London, n.d.), pp. 225, 226; "labouring souls" seems to derive from either "My lab'ring soul? what visions of the night" (IV, 12) or "Of inborn worth, his lab'ring soul oppress'd" (X, 1249). Hardy's own copy of this edition (DCM) bears the following inscription on the fly-leaf: "Thomas Hardy the gift of his Mother." The copy has several markings. All underlinings in this entry are in pencil.

b *Ibid.*, IV, 547. Quotation with a variation from:

> . . . as if the peaceful state
> Of heav'nly powers were touched with human fate

The lines are marked by a marginal stroke in Hardy's copy.

c *Ibid.*, VI, 450. Quotation with a variation from:

> Nor dares his transport vessel cross the waves
> With such whose bones are not compos'd in graves

The same words are underlined in Hardy's copy and in the entry.

d *Ibid.*, VI, 461–62. Abridged quotation from:

> Amidst the spirits, Palinurus press'd
> Yet fresh from life, a new admitted guest

The same words are underlined in Hardy's copy and in the entry.

e *Ibid.*, VI, 512–15. Abridged quotation from:

> Fate, and the dooming gods, are deaf to tears.
> This comfort of thy dire misfortune take –
> The wrath of Heaven, inflicted for thy sake,
> With vengeance shall pursue th' inhuman coast,
> Till they propitiate thy offended ghost.

The first line only is marked in Hardy's copy.

f *Ibid.*, VI, 1015, 1137. Abridged quotation from:

> But, when a thousand rolling years are past
> (So long their punishments and penance last),
> Whole droves of minds are, by the driving god,
> Compell'd to drink the deep Lethaean flood (VI, 1013–16)

and

> But when they leave the shady realms of night,
> And, cloth'd in bodies, breathe your upper light (VI, 1136–37)

g *Ibid.*, VI, 1020. Quotation.

h *Ibid.*, VI, 1001. Abridged quotation.

89 J. Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. J. B. Wharey (Oxford, 1928; rev. R. Sharrock, Oxford, 1960), p. 159. The edition Hardy used is unidentified. Quotation.

90 A. C. Swinburne, "Aholibah," stanza 20, *Poems and Ballads* (see entry A82n), p. 307.

91 Aeneis, VI, 1075–76, *The Works of Virgil* (see entry A88n). Quoted, with annotations, from:

> There mighty Caesar *waits his vital hour,*
> *Impatient for the world*, and grasps his promis's pow'r

The italics indicate Hardy's own underlinings in his copy.

92 T. Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, *Works*, II, 289. Quotation with a slight variation.

93 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 290. Quotation with slight variations.

94 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 291–92. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

95 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 293. Quotation with slight variations.

96 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 294. Quotation with slight variations.

97 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 324. Quotation.

98 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, II, 171–76. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

99 A. C. Swinburne, "To Victor Hugo," stanza 7. Abridged quotation with a slight variation and Hardy's pencilled underlining. Not marked in Hardy's copy of *Poems and Ballads* (see entry A82n), in which, however, ll. 3–8 of the third stanza have a marginal stroke and line 3 ("The splendour of a spirit without blame") of the penultimate stanza is underlined.

100 *Ibid.*, stanza 9. Quotation with a slight variation.

101 *Ibid.*, stanza 4. Quotation.

102a "Fingal," *The Poems of Ossian*, trans. James Macpherson (London, 1803), I, 58. Quotation with a slight variation. Hardy's copy of this 2 vol. ed. is in the DCM and has a signature on the title page of the first volume. Some of the markings in Hardy's copy are discussed by Evelyn Hardy, p. 39, and the possibility of stylistic influences from Ossian is suggested by James F. Scott, "Thomas Hardy's Use of the Gothic: An Examination of Five Representative Works," *NCF*, 17 (March 1963), 363–80.

b "Cath-Loda," *The Poems of Ossian*, I, 209. Quoted from: "Come, thou huntress of Lutha, Malvina, call back his soul to the bard." Hardy has underlined "call back" in his copy.

c *Ibid.*, p. 210. Quotation. Underlined in Hardy's copy.

d *Ibid.*, p. 211. Quotation with a slight variation and annotation.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 211. Excerpted from "Thou shalt roll this stream away, or *waste with me in earth*." The italics indicate Hardy's underlining in his copy.

104a *Ibid.*, p. 211. Abridged quotation.

b *Loc. cit.* Quotation with a slight variation.

c–d *Ibid.*, p. 214. Quotations with slight variations.

c *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 217. Quoted from: "Dark waved his shaggy brow, above his gathered smile" (p. 215) and "His shaggy brows wave dark, above his gathered rage" (p. 217).

f *Ibid.*, p. 216. Abridged quotation with slight variations. In Hardy's copy "poured his voice" is underlined.

105 *Ibid.*, p. 218. Abridged quotation with a variation (Hardy writes "nightly" for the original's "mighty").

106a *Loc. cit.* Quoted from "The race of Cruthloda advance, *a ridge of formless shades*. The italics indicate Hardy's underlining in his copy.

b *Ibid.*, p. 219. Quotation.

c *Loc. cit.* Excerpted from: "Nor feeble was the soul of the king. There, no dark deed wandered in secret."

d *Ibid.*, pp. 223–24. Quotation with slight variations.

e *Ibid.*, p. 224. Quotation.

f *Ibid.*, p. 227. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

g *Ibid.*, p. 228. Quotation with a slight variation.

h *Ibid.*, p. 232. Quotation.

i "Comola: A Dramatic Poem," *The Poems of Ossian*, I, 235. Quotation.

j *Ibid.*, p. 238. Quotation with a slight variation.

k *Ibid.*, p. 239. Abridged quotation with a slight variation and Hardy's interpolation/explanation.

107 *Aeneis*, VI, 381, 431, 508, in *The Works of Virgil*, trans. John Dryden (see entry A88n). Excerpts, with a variation, from the following lines:

By the moon's doubtful and malignant light (381)
Such, and so thick, the shiv'ring army stands (431)
Think'st thou, thus unintom'd to cross the flood (508)

108 Johann Paul (Jean Paul) Friedrich Richter, *Titan*, trans. Charles T. Brooks (Boston, Mass.; Cambridge, 1868), II, 191–92. Quotation with slight variations and annotation. The excerpts is from a description of an earthquake in Rome.

Hardy once listed Carlyle's "Jean Paul Richter" as one of his "Cures for despair" (*Life*, p. 58), but I have seen no evidence of his first-hand reaction to the German writer. That his knowledge of Richter was quite extensive is suggested by the "1867" Notebook entries (see also A121–30). These excerpts are, regrettably, very difficult to identify: four are traced to the *Titan* and one to the anthology *Wit, Wisdom, and Philosophy of J. P. F. Richter*, ed. G. P. Hawley (London, 1884). The anthologized pieces are, unfortunately, not individually

identified by Hawley; the only information given is that the selection includes excerpts from *Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Pieces, Titan, Hesperus, The Invisible Lodge, Quintus Fixlein, The Campaner Thal, Autobiography, Levana, Schmelze's Journey to Flœtz, Dream of the Universe,* "and others." Works that have been searched unsuccessfully for Hardy's entries include: *The Campaner Thal*, trans. J. Gowa (London, 1857); *The Death of an Angel*, trans. R. Holcroft (London, 1826); *Extracts from the Works of J. P. F. Richter*, selected and trans. G. Chatterton (London, 1859); *Flower, Fruit and Thorn Pieces,* trans. E. H. Noel, 2 vols. (London, 1845); *German Romance*, trans. T. Carlyle (London, 1857); *Hesperus, or Forty-five Dog-Post-Days,* trans. C. T. Brooks (Boston, Mass., 1865), *Levana; or the Doctrine of Education*, trans. A. H. (London, 1848); *The Moon*, trans. J. Oxenford and C. A. Teiling (London, 1844).

109 Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, no. 278, in *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond (Oxford, 1965), II, 584. The edition Hardy used is unidentified, but he owned an 1847 one vol. ed. of *The Spectator*; see Wreden, item 4: "Very early signature of Thomas Hardy on fly-leaf." Quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlining.

110 Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, no. 275, in *The Spectator*, ed. D. F. Bond (Oxford, 1965), II, 572. Annotations and quotation with slight variations. For Hardy's note on his reading Addison "in a study of style" in 1875, see "Critical Introduction," p. xii.

111 *Ibid.*, pp. 570–71. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

112 "The Wisdom of Solomon," 18. 23, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphia of the Old Testament in English*, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford, 1913), I, 566. The edition Hardy used is unidentified. Quotation with variations?

113–14 "The Wisdom of Solomon," 18. 13–14; *Apocrypha* (see previous entry), I, 565.

115 "The War of Caros," *The Poems of Ossian* (see entry A102n), II, 4. Quotation.

116 "Fingal," *The Poems of Ossian*, (see entry A102n), II, 100. Abridged quotation.

117a "Darthula," *The Poems of Ossian*, (see entry A102n), II, 162. Abridged quotation.

b *Ibid.*, p. 164. Quotation.

c *Ibid.*, p. 172. Quotation.

d *Ibid.*, p. 174. Quotation.

e "Death of Cuthullin," *The Poems of Ossian* (see entry A102n), II, 181. Abridged quotation.

f *Ibid.*, p. 185. Quotation.

g "The Battle of Lora," *The Poems of Ossian* (see entry A102n), II, 193. Quotation.

118 *Dante's Divine Comedy: The Inferno*, a literal prose trans. by John A. Carlyle, 2nd ed. (London, 1867; rpt. 1882), pp. 276, 271. Hardy's copy of this ed. is in the DCM; it has his signature on the title page and has many markings. The entry seems to be a mixture from two sources: (1) the prose translation of canto xxiii, 58–67: "There beneath we found a painted people, who were going round with steps exceeding slow, weeping, and in their look tired and overcome. They had cloaks on, with deep hoods before their eyes, made in the shape that they make for the monks in Cologne. Outward they are gilded, so that it dazzles; but within all lead, and so heavy. . . . *O weary mantle for eternity*! " (p. 276; italics indicate Hardy's underlining in his copy). (2) the translation of the "Argument" preceding canto xxxiii: "Here they find the Hypocrites walking along the narrow bottom in slow procession, heavy-laden with cloaks of lead, which are guilded and of dazzling brightness on the outside" (p. 271).

For a brief note on Dante, see entry 367n.

119 *Ibid.*, pp. 276–77, 278, 301. Extracted, with Hardy's pencilled underlinings, from the following prose translations: (1) "We turned again to the left hand, along with them, intent upon their dreary weeping. But that people, tired by their burden, came so slowly" (trans. of canto xxiii, 11. 68–70); (2) " 'O Tuscan, that art come to the college of the sad hypocrites! ' . . . And I to them: 'On Arno's beauteous river, in the great city I was born and grew; and I am with the body that I have always had. But you, who are ye from whom distils such sorrow as I see, down your cheeks? ' " (trans. of canto xxiii, 11. 91–97); (3) "The other two looked on, and each cried: 'O me! Agnello, how thou changest! Lo, thou art already neither two nor one! ' The two heads had now become one, when two shapes appeared to us mixed in one face, where both were lost" (trans. of canto xxv, 11. 67–72).

120 J. P. F. Richter, *Titan* (see entry A108n), II, 285. Quotation with variations.

121 *Op. cit.*, II, 315. Abridged quotation.

122 *Op. cit.*, II, 365. Quotation. The second line is unidentified.

123–26 Unidentified: see entry A108n.

127 *Wit, Wisdom, and Philosophy of J. P. F. Richter*, ed. Giles P. Hawley (London, 1884), p. 82. The title of the individual work from which the anthologized piece is taken is unidentified (see entry A108n). Quotation with slight variations.

128–30 Unidentified: see entry A108n. The underlining is in pencil.

131 J. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, II, 955–57. Hardy's edition is unidentified. Quotation.

132 Unidentified: see entry A108n.

133 Unidentified.

134 Eustace Budgell, *The Spectator*, no. 301, in *The Spectator*, ed. D. F. Bond (Oxford, 1965), III, 77. Quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlining.

Eustace Budgell (1686–1737), essayist.

135 Unidentified.

136 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV, 165–74. The "free transl." is not Hardy's own but taken from the prose translation of the lines from Ovid in *Thoughts From Latin Authors* (see entry 175n), II, 251:

> Thus all things are but alter'd, nothing dies,
> And here and there th' unbodied spirit flies,
> By time, or force, or sickness dispossesst,
> And lodges where it lights, in man or beast;
> Or hunts without, till ready limbs it find,
> And actuates those according to their kind;
> From tenement to tenement is tost,
> The soul is still the same, the figure only lost:
> And as the soften'd wax new seals receives,
> This face assumes, and that impression leaves;
> Now call'd by one, now by another name;
> The form is only changed, the wax is still the same:
> So Death, so call'd, can but the form deface;
> Th' immortal soul flies out in empty space,
> To seek her fortune in some other place.

The underlinings in the entry are in pencil, as are the insertions above the last line. In Hardy's copy the whole passage is marked with a stroke in the margin.

For a list of allusions to Ovid in Hardy's writing, see Pinion, p. 203. The quotation in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, "Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor" (p. 247), is also found in *Thought from Latin Authors* and translated as: "I see the right, and I approve it too; / Condemn the wrong, and the wrong pursue" (II, 244). Both the Latin and the English are marked with a stroke in the margin in Hardy's copy.

137 V. Hugo, "Marius," *Les Misérables*, trans. Charles E. Wilbour (London, 1887), I, 214. All the entries from *Les Misérables* in the "1867" Notebook are from this translation (A137, A143–50, A152–60, A244–45). Quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlining.

138 J. P. F. Richter, *Titan* (see entry A108n), I, 14. Quotation with variations.

139 P. B. Shelley, *The Revolt of Islam*, VII, xxvi, 2–3. Hardy's edition is not identified. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

For a general note on Shelley, see entry 1175n.

140 Unidentified.

141 J. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII, 219–29. Hardy's edition is unidentified. Abridged quotation and annotations.

142 Unidentified.

143 V. Hugo, "Saint-Denis," *Les Misérables* (see entry A137n), II, [286]. Abridged quotation with slight variations and annotation.

144 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with a variation.

145 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with an annotation and pencilled underlinings.

146 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation and annotation.

147 *Ibid.*, p. 287.

148 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with a slight variation.

149 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with variations.

150 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation.

151 Unidentified.

152 V. Hugo, "Saint Denis," *Les Misérables* (see entry A137n), II, 287–88. Abridged quotation with variations and Hardy's pencilled underlinings.

153 *Ibid.*, p. 288. Abridged quotation.

154 *Loc. cit.* Part summary, part quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlinings.

155 *Ibid.*, p. 289. Part summary, part quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlining.

156 *Loc. cit.* Part summary, part abridged quotation with Hardy's pencilled underlinings.

157 *Ibid.*, p. 290. Quotation.

158 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with variations.

159 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's underlinings.

160 *Loc. cit.* Part summary, part quotation.

161 T. Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, *Works*, III, 218. Quotation and annotation.

162 T. Carlyle, *The History of Friedrich II of Prussia, called Frederick the Great*, *Works*, XXVII, 217. Quotation with a slight variation and Hardy's underlining.

163 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, XXVII, 156–57. Abridged quotation with slight variations and reversed sentence order.

164 T. Carlyle, "Hudson's Statue," *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, No. VII, *Works*, XIX, 319. Abridged quotation.

165 T. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, *Works*, XIII, 157. Quotation with Hardy's underlining.

166 *Op. cit.*, Works, XIII, 191. Abridged quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlining.

167 *Op. cit.*, *Works*, XIII, 193–94. Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlinings.

168 V. Hugo, "Cosette," *Les Misérables* (see entry A137n), I, 459. Quotation with variations.

169 *Ibid.*, p. 460. Quotation with a slight variation and annotation.

170 If this is a direct quotation the exact source is unidentified. It could, however, be a summary from Frederic W. H. Myers, "Multiplex Personality," or "Automatic Writing," *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, XI (May 1887), 496–514, 209–61.

171 Possibly the title of the article referred to in the previous annotation.

172 F. A. Aulard, "Essai sur les Idées Philosophique et l'Inspiration poétique de Leopardi," *Poésies et œuvres morales de Leopardi*, trans. F. A. Aulard (Paris, 1880). Hardy's translation of a passage in ch. II "Philosophie de Leopardi," a section called "Theorie de l'*infelicità*," in which Aulard maintains that human unhappiness is the main theme of Leopardi's work and his explanation of human existence. As the passage reflects important aspects of Hardy's own views, it is quoted here at some length:

> Rien n'est à l'abri de l'infélicité, pas même ces prétendues retraites que l'homme croit pouvoir se créer en lui-même. Les plus secrets sentiments, les plus fières et les plus fermes dispositions de l'âme humaine sont à la merci de la fortune. L'orgueil même n'est que vanité. C'est une chimère présomptueuse que cette idée que les hommes se font de la dignité et de l'importance de leur race. Cette race viendrait à disparaître que le monde n'en continuerait pas moins sa vie ordinaire. Quant à la supériorité dont nous nous targuons, comme elle est rabattue par l'histoire de la Gageure de Prométhée! Il parie avec Momus que les hommes sont les plus parfaits des animaux. Il s'ensuit un voyage philosophique à travers l'humanité qui mène successivement les parieurs chez les anthropophages d'Amérique, près du bùcher d'une veuve indienne, devant le cadavre d'un suicidé pour cause de spleen, à Londres, si bien que Prométhée perd son pari. La seule conclusion qu'on tire de ce voyage, c'est que les hommes sont plus malheureux que les autres animaux; car l'infélicité ne comprend pas seulement la souffrance, mais toutes les imperfections de la nature humaine. (pp. 38–39)

For a comparative study of the two poets, see G. Singh, "Thomas Hardy and Leopardi: a Study in Affinity and Contrast," *Rivista di Letterature Moderne e Comparate*, 17–18 (1964–65), 120–135. Singh notes Hardy's possession of Aulard's translation as well as of Leopardi's *Essays, Dialogues and Thoughts*, trans. P. Maxwell (London, 1893).

173–74 *Ibid.*, p. 39. Hardy's translations from Aulard's continued exposition of Leopardi's philosophy of unhappiness:

> Sots et malheureux, tels sont les hommes, non sans quelque grandeur toutefois, mais cette grandeur n'est qu'un présent ironique de la nature: "Vis, ma fille, dit la Nature à une âme, pour être grande et malheureuse." . . . Les hommes étaient heureux avant d'avoir obtenu de se rapprocher de cette vérité qui tout d'un coup leur a montré leurs misères. La vertu, le patriotisme, l'honneur, n'étaient que des fantômes, mais ils y croyaient comme à des choses réelles, et le culte dont ils les entouraient leur donnait du moins un semblant de bonheur. La lumière que l'on a maladroitement jetée sur ces douces et adorables chimères les a, hélas! dissipées, et cette vérité qui devait être la source de tous les biens a montré seulement qu'il n'y avait de réel en ce monde qu'une seule chose: l'infélicité. (pp. 39–40)

175 *Ibid.*, p. 48. Hardy's translation from a section entitled "Leopardi et Schopenhauer." In explaining "la valeur philosophique de cette theorie de l'"*infelicità*" (p. 46; see entry A172n), Aulard leads up to the relationship between Leopardi and the German philosopher with the following line of argument: "Il semble que nous nous rapprochions ainsi d'un philosophe auquel il n'est pas possible de ne point penser quand on lit Leopardi, et qui parait au premier abord s'être rencontré avec l'auteur des Dialogues quand il a écrit que le monde n'est qu'un phénomène cérébral. Schopenhauer d'ailleurs, sans avoir versifié, a été poéte à son heure, et il y a dans ses pages sur l'art une inspiration qui ressemble fort à la poésie" (p. 48).

176 *Ibid.*, pp. 123–24. Hardy's translation from the chapter "Les Poésies Patriotiques," of Aulard's rendering in French of a poem by Leopardi to his sister Paolina: "Hélas! c'est trop tard, c'est dans le soir des choses humaines que celui qui naît acquiert le mouvement et le sentiment:

> . . . Abi troppo tardi
> E nella sera delle umane cose,
> Acquista oggi chi nasce il moto e il senso."
> (pp. 123–24)

177–78 *Ibid.*, p. 166. Hardy's translations from the chapter on "Poésies Philosophiques"; Leopardi, Aulard argues, attributed to the ancients his own

"idées sur la douleur et le néant" and he wished to find in them "un assentiment" to his own doctrines:

> Cet assentiment, il ne le trouve pas dans les écrivains classiques. Car l'esprit général de leur sagesse est un esprit d'optimisme viril qui est précisément l'opposé de la théorie de "l'irrémédiable et universelle douleur". Il semble, d'autre part, que pour quelqu'un d'émancipé, comme l'était Leopardi, de ce qu'il tient pour des préjugés d'enfance, la morale la plus consolante et en même temps la plus pure, celle qui donne le plus le goût de vivre avec honneur et les plus sûrs moyens d'être vertueux, sans abdiquer sa dignité d'homme, c'est la morale antique, non celle de telle ou telle école, mais cette morale vraiment humaine et non pas seulement stoïcienne, que professèrent les Romains du temps de Sénéque, qu'ils pratiquérent quelquefois, et conformément à laquelle nous voyons vivre, qu'elle le veuille ou non, une partie de la société moderne. (pp. 165–66)

For a brief note on Hardy's different notion of the ancient, especially "Hellenic," view of life, see "Critical Introduction," p. xxv and n. 24.

179 *Ibid.*, p. 192. Hardy's translation from what Aulard considers one of the most lively passages in Leopardi's *La Palinodie*, addressed to Gino Capponi (1792–1876), the Italian historian and statesman:

> Déjà un des tiens, louable Gino, un libre maître de poésie, et même, en toutes sciences, arts et facultés humaines, docteur et correcteur de tous les esprits qui jamais furent, sont et seront, m'a dit: "Laisse tes propres passions; elles n'intéressent pas cet âge viril; tourne-toi vers le sévères études économiques, fixe ton regard sur les choses publiques. A quoi te sert d'explorer ton propre cœur? Ne cherche point au-dedans de toi matière à des chants. Chante les besoins de notre siècle et l'espérance même." (p. 192)

180 Emile Zola, *Abbé Mouret's Transgressions*, Translated Without Abridgment from the 34th French Edition (London, 1886), p. 26. Abridged quotation. For a brief general note on Zola, see entry 1321n; for similarities between *Abbé Mouret's Transgressions* and *Tess*, see entry A187n.

181 *Ibid.*, p. 27. Abridged quotation.

182 *Ibid.*, p. 49. Quotation with variations.

183 *Ibid.*, p. 71. Quotation with a slight variation.

184 *Ibid.*, p. 107. Quotation with slight variations.

185 *Ibid.*, p. 108. Quotation with variations.

186 *Ibid.*, p. 120. Quotation with slight variations.

187 *Ibid.*, p. 143. Abridged quotation with a slight variation. Zola's strongly symbolic description of the garden Le Paradou — here only briefly exemplified — is part of a potentially significant over-all similarity between *Abbé Mouret's Transgressions* and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles.* Like Talbothays Dairy, Le Paradou is a place of pastoral innocence and natural emotions shielded from Christian morality. In addition to the affinity of the concepts of settings, the main characters of the novels are remarkably alike. Two girls of Nature, Albine and Tess, fall deeply and unreservedly in love with men who are emotionally frigid and under profound religious influences. In Serge, Albine discovers too late that "a flame was lacking in the depth of his grey eyes" (p. 134), just as Tess is "appalled by the determination revealed in the depths of this gentle being she has married — the will to subdue the grosser to the subtler emotion, the substance to the conception, the flesh to the spirit" (*Tess*, p. 313). Although Serge and Angel develop differently, their desertion and consequent ruin of their girls are similar and similarly motivated: Angel leaves Tess because of his Christian notions of morality and Serge Albine in order to serve the Church. Their actions dramatize the perhaps major theme of the two novels (in Hardy's words): the "unnatural sacrifice of humanity to mysticism" (*Tess*, p. 339).

The similarities may not be far-reaching enough to indicate influence, but the possibility cannot be disregarded. Hardy read *Abbé Mouret's Transgressions* in 1886 or 1887; he started writing *Tess* in the autumn of 1888 (see Purdy, p. 71).

188 *Ibid.*, p. 144. Abridged quotation with variations.

189 *Ibid.*, p. 306. Quotation with variations.

190 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with variations.

191 A false start for the following entry.

192 E. Zola, *Abbé Mouret's Transgressions*, p. 304. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

193 E. Zola, *Germinal, or, Master and Man* (London, 1885), p. 19. Quotation, annotation, and Hardy's underlining.

194 *Ibid.*, p. 30. Quotation with variations.

195 *Ibid.*, p. 32. Abridged quotation.

196 *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 195. Annotation on, and quotations from (a) "Around them, lads were tumbling their lasses, sounds of kissing and laughing were wafted to where they sat, whilst a warm odour of woman rose from the damp and trodden grass" (p. 116); (b) "The loud sound of the voices of the miners in Monsieur Hennebeau's drawing-room was deadened, as it were, by the draperies of the room, and the hot-house-like atmosphere" (p. 195).

For a brief note on this entry see also "Critical Introduction," p. xxii, n. 17.

197 *Ibid.*, pp. 203–05. Abridged quotation with variations.

198 *Ibid.*, p. 223. Quotation with variations.

199 *Ibid.*, p. 18. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

200 *Ibid.*, p. 456. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

201 *Ibid.*, p. 30. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

202–3 Unidentified, but from Sir George Grove, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians, A.D. 1450–1880*, 3 vols. (London, 1879–83).

204 M. F. Brunetière, "A Propos d'une étude litteraire sur le XIXe siècle," *Revue des deux mondes*, 75 (Dec. 1, 1886), 696. Hardy's translation of: "Chateaubriand s'est comme déclaré, dès son premier ouvrage, l'*Essai sur les révolutions*, l'ennemi personnel du XVIIIe siècle."

205–07 Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, "De la litterature réaliste à propos du roman russe," *Revue des deux mondes*, 75 (May 1, 1886), 290. Hardy translates from the Vogüé's introductory general observations on tendencies in modern literature:

> L'art nouveau cherche à imiter la nature dans son inconscience, son indifférence morale, son absence de choix; il exprime le triomphe de la collectivité sur l'individu, de la foule sur le héros, du relatif sur l'absolu. On l'a appelé réaliste, naturaliste: suffirait-il, pour le définir, de l'appeler démocratique?
>
> Non, ce serait un regard trop court, celui qui s'arrêterait à cette racine apparente de notre littérature. Le changement de l'ordre politique n'est qu'un épisode dans l'universel et prodigieux changement qui s'accomplit. Observez dans toutes ses applications le travail de l'esprit humain depuis un siècle;
>
> . . . . . .

C'est comme une pente inévitable: dès qu'il bouge, l'esprit moderne la descend. Recherche-t-il les origines de la création? Ce n'est plus le chef-d'œuvre construit de toutes pièces en six jours, par l'opération soudaine d'un démiurge. Une vapeur qui se fixe, des gouttes d'eau, des molécules lentement agglomérées durant des myriades de siècles, voilà l'humble commencement des planètes; et celui de la vie, le léger soupir d'êtres sans nom, grouillant dans une flaque de boue. S'agit-il d'expliquer les transformations successives du globe? Les volcans, les déluges, les grands cataclysmes n'y ont plus qu'une faible part; c'est l'ouvrage des anonymes et des imperceptibles, le grain de sable roulé par la source durant des jours sans nombre, le rocher de corail qui devient continent par le travail des microzoaires, du petit peuple patient employé au fond de l'océan. . . . La découverte est d'une telle importance, qu'on se prend à douter si l'avenir, au lieu de désigner notre siècle par le nom de quelque rare génie, ne l'appellera pas le siècle des microbes; nul mot ne rendrait mieux notre physionomie et le sens de notre passage à travers les générations.

Les sciences morales suivent le branle communiqué par celles de la nature. L'histoire reçoit la déposition des peuples et repousse au second plan les seuls témoins qu'elle écoutât jadis, rois, ministres, capitaines; en parcourant ses nécropoles, elle s'arrête moins volontiers aux monumens pompeux, elle va dans la foule des tombes oubliées, s'efforçant de ressaisir leur murmure. (pp. 289–91)

208 *Ibid.*, p. 298. Hardy's translated excerpt from de Vogüé's survey of modern French literary realism:

On sait que la lignée réaliste se rattache à Stendhal. C'est hasard de rencontre plutôt que filiation prouvée. On ne médite pas toujours les enfans qu'on a. L'auteur de *la Chartreuse de Parme* ne songeait guère à faire souche littéraire; et je ne sais si ce quinteux eût avoué la famille posthume qui lui est survenue. Il en est de lui comme de ces aïeux qu'on se retrouve quand on se compose une généalogie. Par certains côtés, Stendhal est un écrivain du XVIII[e] siècle, à la fois en retard et en avance sur ses contemporains. S'il lui arrive de croiser, dans le séjour des ombres, Diderot et Flaubert, c'est bien certainement au premier qu'il ira de confiance donner la main. Que les procédés de l'école nouvelle soient en germe dans le récit de la bataille de Waterloo, dans la peinture du caractère de Julien Sorel, le fait est évident; mais au moment de reconnaître en Stendhal un vrai réaliste, nous sommes arrêtés par une objection insurmontable; il a infiniment d'esprit, et même de bel esprit; nous le prenons sans cesse en flagrant délit d'intervention railleuse, de persiflage voltairien. (pp. 297–98)

209 V. Hugo, "Cosette," *Les Misérables* (see entry A137n), I, 109. Quotation with a slight variation.

210 Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, The Modern Library (New York, 1950), p. 7. Quotation with variations, Hardy's underlinings, and parenthetical annotation.

211 W. Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV, iv, 1–5. Hardy's edition is unidentified. Abridged quotation.

212 Unidentified.

213 Unidentified.

214 Sir Thomas Browne, "Letter to a Friend," *Religio Medici* (London, 1886), p. [181]. There is a slight piece of evidence suggesting that Hardy used the 1886 edition: in entry A224 he copied the printing error "extenteration." The other possible modern edition (with the modernized spelling Hardy has in all the entries) is from 1869, but it has the correct word "exenteration" (p. 171). Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlinings.

215 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with Hardy's underlining. The reference, in pencil, to Carlyle on Novalis seems to be to a lost pocket-book.

216 *Ibid.*, p. 182. Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlinings.

217 *Ibid.*, p. 183. Abridged quotations.

218 *Ibid.*, p. 187. Quotations with slight variations, annotation, Hardy's underlinings, and reversed order of the passages.

219 *Ibid.*, p. 183. Abridged quotation.

220 *Ibid.*, p. 186. Abridged quotation with slight variations.

221 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with slight variations.

222 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation.

223 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with slight variations.

224 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with a slight variation. For a brief textual note, see entry A214n. The entry is a direct continuation of the passage quoted in the previous entry, but a clear spatial separation in the manuscript suggests that Hardy saw them as separate entries.

225 *Loc. cit.* Quotation with slight variations and Hardy's underlinings: "by six shoulders" is inserted in pencil.

226 *Ibid.*, p. 189. Quotation with slight variations and annotation.

227 *Ibid.*, p. 226. Quotation.

228 *Ibid.*, p. 227. Quotation with slight variations.

229 *Ibid.*, p. 192. Quotation with variations and Hardy's underlining.

230 *Ibid.*, p. 193. Quotation with slight variations.

231 *Ibid.*, p. 194. Abridged quotation.

232 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with Hardy's underlining.

233 *Ibid.*, p. 196. Quotation with a slight variation.

234 *Loc. cit.* Quotation.

235 Aeschylus, *The Persians, The Tragedies of Aeschylus*, trans. T. A. Buckley (London, 1849), p. 79. Excerpted from the messenger's account of the fate of the remnants of the Persian army after the Greek victory at Salamis: "There is a certain island lying off the shores of Salamis, small, a dangerous station for ships, which Pan, who delights in the dance, haunts on its beach. Thither [Xerxes] sends these men, in order that, when the foeman wandering out of their ships should make their escape to the island, they might slay the soldiery of the Greeks, an easy prey, and rescue their comrades from the streams of the sea, ill knowing the future" (p. 79).

236 *Ibid.*, p. 80. Excerpted from the messenger's continued description of the destruction of the Persian fleet: "We came also into the land of Magnesia, and the country of the Macadonians. . . . And in this night God called up winter out of his season, and congeals the whole stream of the sacred Stymon."

237 Unidentified.

238 Unidentified. P. M. G. = Pall Mall Gazette?

239 Unidentified.

240 Charles Baudelaire, "Reversibilité," *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Paris, 1942), p. 47 Hardy's edition is unidentified, but the entry is probably his own translation of the original:

> Ange plein de santé, connaissez-vous les Fièvres,
> Qui, le long des grands murs de l'hospice blafard,
> Comme des exilés, s'en vont d'un pied traînard,
> Cherchant le soleil rare et remuant les lèvres? (11. 11–14)

241 Unidentified.

242 P. B. Shelley, *Prometheus*, I, 11. Quotation.

243 A. C. Swinburne, "In Memory of John William Inchbold," xxix, *Poems and Ballads*, Third Series (London, 1889), p. 129.

244 V. Hugo, "Fantine," *Les Misérables* (see entry A137n), I, 69. Quotation.

245 *Loc. cit.* Abridged quotation with slight variations.

INDEXES

EDITORIAL NOTE

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